EDUCATION FOR ACTION

BEATTY

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EDUCATION FOR ACTION

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by WILLARD W. BEATTY

Director of Education, United States Indian Service

and ASSOCIATES

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INTRODUCTION

DESPITE attempts to establish paralyzing uniformity in the public schools of the United States, nothing could be quite as diverse as the programs of teacher training in the normal schools and teachers colleges of the country. Even with this diversity, too little attention is given to preparing teachers to meet the problems which should be faced by rural schools. As approximately half of the school population is enrolled in rural schools,[1] a fair proportion of all young teachers must begin in rural schools, but few do so with any real interest in rural education. At college they have usually been indoctrinated against rural teaching and are therefore merely time servers, waiting for a bid to the larger salaries and greater personal comforts of the town or city. The schools of the Indian Service are primarily rural, and their most important job is to prepare young Indians to earn a successful living through the use of their own resources. As these resources aren't sufficient to provide subsistence for all the Indians now living on Indian lands, a fair proportion of young Indian men and women must be trained for other occupations, and inspired to make a living elsewhere. The goals of Indian Education thus are much more clearly defined than are those of the average American school. The administrative problem in the Indian Service is therefore one of acquainting its teaching, administrative and supervisory staffs with these objectives and guiding them in their application. With 360 schools scattered from Barrow, Alaska to Big Cypress, Florida, the problem is not a simple one.

I have always believed it desirable for schools to be organized around a common philosophy of education. Where staff members are working at cross purposes, this fact is sensed by the children and tends to impair the effectiveness of the program. The larger a school system is or the more scattered its units, the more difficult it becomes to weld the staff objectives into an integrated whole. I think I know how to develop a working unity out of any staff which is compact enough to meet together occasionally and discuss its objectives and hammer out its differences. When a staff is too unwieldy to be handled in this manner, new techniques of in-service training must be developed.

The most common method for attempting to achieve a unity of purpose in such situations, is by regulation or directive issuing from a central office, which tries to anticipate developments and prescribe the ways in which they are to be met. I have no faith in this approach. It is wasteful of individual creative ingenuity and substitutes the limited imagination and organizing ability of a few people for the integrated intelligence of many. Not having any better answer, I contented myself for the first fifteen years of my administrative experience, with situations which were sufficiently compact to be handled by the conference method.

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[1] Education in the Forty-eight States, Chapter XI, The Advisory Committee on Education US GPO, 1939.

When invited to accept the directorship of Indian Education, I hesitated, for I was confronted with both size and dispersion. However, I found both of my immediate superiors, Commissioner John Collier and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, sensitive to the problem and ready to support me in the introduction of a variety of in-service training techniques which might serve to develop the basic philosophy and the unity of purpose which we all agreed were essential. While I can't claim that the difficulties are overcome, the Education Division of the Indian Service has attacked the problems of in-service training in many ways, all of which have given evidence of at least partial success.

1 — We began to organize a series of summer schools designed to present a common philosophy of education, demonstrate this philosophy in action, and supply to teachers the techniques and materials to carry it into their own classrooms and communities. From one to four summer schools have been arranged each summer beginning in 1936. (1942 omitted because of the war.) These were held at Indian Service boarding schools located in typical Indian country, so that the summer program could be designed to increase the familiarity of the staff with Indians and their problems. Demonstration classes, opportunities for practice teaching and chances to learn Indian handicrafts by actual participation were a part of each program.

2 — We supplemented these summer schools with short reservation centered curriculum planning conferences participated in by all the staff members of a given area. This afforded the opportunity to apply the general principles presented in summer schools to specific areas and school situations.

3 — We encouraged long term cooperative study of area needs and curriculum planning in terms of these needs, by the entire staffs of individual schools, or groups of schools in an area.

4 — We decentralized much of our supervision, setting up regional staffs with considerable independence, who could become intimately familiar with their areas and begin to plan cooperatively with the local school people, calling in central office staff members for specialized assistance. These local supervisors made it a point to remain in areas for weeks or months at a time in the study of problems, rather than running in and out as would have been necessary if they were responsible for service-wide supervision.

5 — Added to all of this, we launched a fortnightly field letter addressed to every employee and designed to present clear-cut statements of philosophy, policy and preferred procedure: INDIAN EDUCATION. While many staff members made valuable contributions to this publication, I undertook to edit their material with a view to maintaining a careful integration of viewpoint. In a majority of instances, the articles published, with the exception of a leading editorial over my own signature, appeared anonymously as a departmental statement of policy.

Looking back over seven years in which the five point program has been in effect, it is possible to say that substantial modifications of practise have occurred in the direction sponsored by the administration. Progress is of course slow, because it depends first upon our success in modifying the thinking of employees, and second upon the effect which this modification of thinking ultimately exerts upon their behavior. This is not the place to assess these changes. It is sufficient to record that they have occurred.

Added to the natural inertia which must be overcome before changes will occur, is the factor of turnover. Each year approximately 10 per cent of the teaching staff is new to the Service. No universally effective way has been found to help these newcomers catch up with the thinking which already has been done by the existing staff. Some schools which have worked out an articulated curriculum with a program for each instructional group, and which have broken these down into unit activities, can put the resulting mimeographed material into the hands of new employees. Such detailed planning is still the exception, rather than the rule, unfortunately.

At a conference of the supervisory staff in the spring of 1943, it was suggested that the reprinting of the more significant articles and editorials which have appeared in INDIAN EDUCATION since its inception in 1936 would be helpful both to newcomers and to older employees. The suggestion met with considerable approval, and I thereupon set to work to review, collate and bring up to date the material. As INDIAN EDUCATION is a periodical, limited to eight Reader's Digest size pages per issue, its treatment of any phase of the program is inclined to be spotty. Some phases of the program have received more complete treatment than others, in the 95 issues which have already appeared. Other phases are barely touched upon.

Some thought was given to the desirability of preparing additional material to fill out the omissions in what has been said to date. This idea was finally abandoned. As time goes on, a much more rounded picture of the program will emerge out of the pages of current issues of INDIAN EDUCATION. In the meantime, this collection will serve to summarize what has been set down during the last seven years.

Contributions from the following members of the Indian Service will be found in these pages: Philip Bourne, Instructor in Shop Subjects, Pine Ridge; Henrietta K. Burton, Supervisor of Home Extension Work; Ann Clark, Associate Supervisor of Elementary Education; A. C. Cooley, Director of Extension; Lawrence E. Correll, Superintendent, Chilocco Agricultural School; Carl R. Eklund, Assistant Bioligist; Edna Gerken, Supervisor of Health Education; Flora Goforth, Supervisor of Weaving; Cleora Helbing, Associate Supervisor of Indian Education; Homer H. Howard, Supervisor of In-service Training; Edward Huberman, formerly Textbook Writer; Allan Hulsizer, Supervisor of Indian Education; Gordon Macgregor, Associate Supervisor of Indian Education (Anthropology); Joseph McCaskill, formerly Assistant Director of Education; Olive Quigley, Teacher; John R. Reeves, Chief Counsel; Warren Spaulding, Supervisor of Trades and Industry; Hildegard Thompson, Associate Supervisor of Elementary Education; Richard M. Tisinger, Area Superintendent of Education; James G. Townsend, M. D., formerly Director of Health; Ruth M. Underhill, Associate Supervisor of Indian Education (Anthropology); Robert W. Young, Specialist in Native Languages. The list would be trebled were I to credit all those whose suggestions or ideas have found their way into my own articles. Paul Fickinger, while Associate Director of Education; P. W. Danielson, Associate Director of Education; H. A. Mathiesen, while Supervisor of Farms and Dairies; Miss Georgie A. Collins, Assistant to the Director of Education; William A. Goodwin, Associate Supervisor of Agriculture; Samuel Thompson, Supervisor of Public School Relations; Scudder Mekeel, formerly Chief Anthropologist; George A. Boyce, Director of Navaho Schools; George C. Wells, Area Superintendent of Education;

Joe Jennings, Area Superintendent of Education; Edward A. Kennard, Specialist in Native Languages; and W. O. Roberts, Superintendent of the Pine Ridge Reservation are among those who furnished continuing inspiration. Lastly, I must mention William A. Whyte, whose article in the Journal of Applied Anthropology lent itself so readily to adaptation for INDIAN EDUCATION. Bill was a former student of mine in Bronxville, New York, and was on the staff of the University of Oklahoma when his article came to my attention. The significance of the above list lies in its size, and the evidence which it gives of a growing unity of viewpoint among those concerned with the problems of Indian Education.

Mr. William Zimmerman, Assistant Commissioner, has read every word of INDIAN EDUCATION in proof, and sagely advised regarding the articles and their text. His judgments have always been wise, tempered with humor and with human sympathy.

In justice to the many staff members who have contributed, their names are appended to the articles which they have written. The unsigned material is my share of the volume. Articles dealing with plant maintenance have been omitted, in the belief that a separate volume may well be devoted to that subject. The decision as to what to include and what to omit has been entirely mine.

As I con the many pages of manuscript which have been written about Indian Education, I am amazed to discover topics such as art, music, recreation about which almost nothing has been so far said. The omission is not to be taken as proof that they are unimportant—simply as evidence that in eight years of educational administration in the Indian Service there hasn't been time or space to discuss everything of importance in the pages of our fortnightly. Fortunately, opportunity has been found to touch on many of these phases of education at our Indian Service summer schools. In the years ahead, Indian Education may reflect more fully all phases of educational policy.

Willard W. Beatty
January 1944 *Director of Education*

1

THE DIRECTION OF EDUCATION

1. EDUCATING FOR WHAT?

IN 1847 James Lick, a piano maker by trade, landed in San Francisco, after an adventurous 17 years in South America. Taking advantage of the opportunities which appeared in that pioneer community, Lick accumulated a fortune. But with all the improvements which occurred in his material well-being, Lick never ceased to be proud of the fact that he was, after all, a skilled mechanic. He took advantage of every opportunity to improve his own education and stressed during his lifetime the importance to the laboring man of expanding his own educational horizon. To Lick, education was not a means of escape from his status as a laboring man, but a means to enriched living as a laboring man. And by "enriched living," Lick thought of things of the spirit, not merely of material well-being. In this he anticipated by a generation the philosophy of the British labor party.

When he died, Lick sought to perpetuate his interests and his philosophy of life. Among other things he endowed the Lick Observatory of the University of California, made a bequest to the California Academy of Sciences and founded and endowed the California School of Mechanical Arts, a secondary trade school for boys and girls to be drawn from the whole state of California. By the educational program envisioned by James Lick, students of high school age were to serve the period of apprenticeship required by their trade within the school, receiving the skilled instruction and experience usually acquired "on the job" during half of the day while devoting the rest of the day to the academic essentials of high school education. Emphasis in the academic departments was placed on the scientific and mathematical branches which gave increased meaning to the skills being taught in the vocational departments, rather than on languages and the humanities—though providing an introduction to English literature and the social studies.

Lick sought to train a generation which would be proud to work with its hands but which would also enjoy the cultural values frequently reserved to the "professional" classes. There was something quite fundamental in Lick's objectives, something which is often lost sight of by many of today's educators.

The world will always need its hewers of wood and drawers of water. A civilization in which carpenters, painters, masons, auto mechanics, steam engineers, barbers, beauty parlor operators, chefs, waiters, elevator operators, farmers, orchardists, and cowboys cease to exist, is as yet inconceivable. The time will never come when all can make a living as lawyers, doctors, teachers, bankers, or stock brokers. The assumption that education is the stepping stone from work with the hands to work with the brain is fundamentally fallacious. We need educated and intelligent hand workers, for within any conceivable period of time there will be many more of them, than all of the rest of mankind put together. They are the ones whose votes will determine the personnel of our municipal councils and our state and national governments. It is their tastes which will ultimately decide whether we have playgrounds or dump heaps, libraries or pool halls, art centers or saloons, as the basic training grounds for youth. They are the ones who will direct the development of social security, demand increased control of the stock market and the banks, and determine on state or private ownership and operation of many public services.

How long our large cities will tolerate municipal corruption or the extent to which personal privileges shall dominate governmental services, are questions which will continue to be decided by the ignorance or intelligence of the mass of people who work with their hands, and the continued stability of society will rest on the continued pride of the workman in his work and his belief in the importance of the job which he is doing, even though he gains more education and better social understanding.

Whether many labor unions are to continue as "fronts" for corrupt leaders profiteering as a result of their power and prestige, or to become agencies primarily concerned with cooperative efforts to improve the conditions of labor within the economic possibilities of the industry affected, will also depend on the knowledge and wisdom of the laboring man.

Viewed in this way, it should be clear that teachers who urge education as an escape from labor, rather than as an enrichment of the life of labor, are contributing to a breakdown in the social structure, for which they offer no compensating alternative.

Applied more directly to the work of the Indian Service with primitive peoples, it appears that we must question continuously the purpose back of our educational program. Are we educating for "escape" from the conditions in which these people are living? And if we believe that the answer is "yes," what desirable alternative have we to offer?

We accept the fact that there will be White cattlemen, White farmers, White hunters, White miners, and White traders, to mention only a few of the types of work which take men voluntarily into isolated areas. More and more we are asking men to accept some degree of permanence in such places as Panama, Samoa, Northern Alaska, and even Antarctica. Where lies the sense, then in teachers of native peoples conveying the impression that education should take these peoples away from such areas, which their races have found congenial for generations?

Should the purposes of native education not be primarily two: first, to contribute, so far as possible, to better living under the conditions of the environment; and second, to that enrichment of understanding which has tended to make life more tolerable under all conditions? It is not possible for us to withdraw our protection or our "education" from these people, on the assumption that if left to themselves, they will continue in their present happy adjustment to their "world." Self-seeking Whites have found adventure and profit in continued intercourse with natives. Over continued periods this has resulted in exploitation of the natives, unless the more benign influence of the state steps in to furnish them the education, the understanding and the experience to compete on more equal terms with the Whites.

So long as contacts with the outside

world continue, new diseases will be introduced, new vices, new tastes, new opportunities. To a native people unprepared for these experiences, one may prove as deadly as another. Sugar candy which tends to destroy native teeth may be as harmful in the long run as an epidemic of measles; and white flour which is substituted for some article of native diet rich in vitamins, may undermine native health as effectively as tuberculosis.

By and large, then, good native education should be concerned with perfecting the native way of life in the face of inevitable contacts with the outside world.

It cannot be based on the pattern of education which has grown up to satisfy totally different needs among the Whites. Because good education and "the good life" depend largely upon increased ability to communicate freely, language use will have a vital place in the curriculum. This will involve the ability to speak, and later to read and write the English language with fluency and exactness. As all contacts with White culture will involve experiences with numbers, the basic operations of arithmetic must find an important place in the program. Because most of the mechanical improvements which Whites will introduce have a scientific derivation and because practically all improved health practices are the outgrowth of scientific experimentation, some basic understanding of the methods of science seems highly desirable. This teaching needs to be far more practical in its relationship to the common experiences of the native people, than the usual texts for use in White schools.

It should be clear that learnings of this kind are not valuable in and of themselves, but primarily as they relate to native experiences and native needs.

Improved housing is a native need, but to be useful, such housing plans should be made in terms of available native materials, for in few native areas are the resources such that they will finance the importation of building materials. The size of houses, and the number of rooms must be studied in terms of methods of heating with native materials, for no group should be induced to become dependent on imported fuels.

Improved sanitation is a native need, but again, proposals should be considered in terms of feasible possibilities. First should come protection of water supply, which may under certain circumstances go little further than insuring the spring or stream or lake against contamination. This will often necessitate new habits of handling human wastes, which may in turn be very simple. It is easy to confuse the convenience of running water in the home with the more important protection of the supply at its source, or to assume that a comfortable privy is more important than seeing that the privy isn't on the drainage area that supplies the spring, the lake or the well.

Clean homes are an important phase of better health, but again it is necessary to realize that cleanliness is relative. The elimination of head and body lice may be of utmost importance, but can only be accomplished by means which do not strike too fundamentally at established habits and customs which are a result of environmental factors. No fundamental changes can be effected over night, and desirable modifications which can be brought about with a minimum of dislocation in established customs are to be preferred.

But each innovation proposed should be carefully examined in the light of its economic feasibility. Can it be afforded by people living under the conditions of the area? For it is fair to presume that Eskimos can live a better life in their chosen region than they can elsewhere, or than others could who might attempt to replace them—and replace them someone undoubtedly would, in whole or in part, so long as their general contribution to society at large was economically desirable.

While it is granted that life in the Arctic is severe, or that life on the Papago desert or on a Hopi mesa is inevitably restricted, for people who are used to it, it has undoubted compensations, and may in fact be a better life than the same individuals might win elsewhere. Recognizing as we must that persons of dark skin are at a disadvantage in American White society, who would willingly condemn an Indian or an Eskimo to life in a city slum eking out an existence at some form of wage work and buying a pitiable living from the commercial markets, in preference to riding the range after his own cattle, or hunting walrus or following a trapline and winning his subsistence from his native environment in the manner of his fathers before him?

We needn't talk about tuberculosis in the hogan or the igloo, for tuberculosis stalks the tenements of Washington, New Orleans or Chicago. We needn't exclaim about the relief which is occasionally necessary to save some Navaho pinon pickers from an unexpected blizzard, or a northern Eskimo from the perils of a bad walrus season. The big cities have their periods of unemployment and more men are fed in one year in a New York City bread line, than by government relief on all the plateaus of Arizona and the whole Arctic tundra.

When we advise a native child to seek advanced education in an Indian Service boarding school or an American college, let us be sure that the experience won't unfit him for return to life among his own people, while failing to fit him for making a living anywhere else. What we want for ourselves may be very different from what others want or are entitled to have. Let's stop generalizing—and think of each person's future in terms of what, in all circumstances, is best for him.

2. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY—YES

AMONG democratic values which Americans cherish is that of *equal educational opportunity for all*. In trying to realize this value we sometimes fall into the error of thinking that "equal" educational opportunity means the same as "identical" educational opportunity. The idea persists that by giving the same education to all children we give equal opportunity to all. The exact opposite is true. To give actual and real equal opportunity to all we must give a different education to each child.

No two children are alike. Cultural, mental, physical inheritance and background plus environment have made each youngster an individual distinct from every other individual. Classroom activities and teaching techniques must make provision for this wide variety of individual differences. Only in that way can each child be educated for full and satisfactory participation in present living and for the best possible future use of his inherent abilities. Thus only can the child have his democratic right to *equal opportunity*, educationally speaking.

It is difficult to teach democracy in concrete terms, but we can so arrange the child's educational scene that he experiences the benefits of practicing the use of various elements which make up democracy. One of these elements is the right to be educated as an individual.

Universal education — yes. Identical education for each — no.—*Howard*

3. WHAT TEACH?

WHAT is the objective of our Indian education, and how shall we measure its achievements? Today the major objective of our education program should be the production of self-supporting, self-respecting citizenship. We in the Indian schools are faced with the need to educate a group of children to a new way of life. Not only do we face the need to make farmers out of hunters, cattlemen out of nomadic wanderers, technicians in steel out of men of the stone age, but more than that we must restore the desire for self-support to a people who were deliberately pauperized by the terms of their submission.

When the American army concluded treaty after treaty with rebellious Indians in which they rewarded peace and acceptance of reservation status with promises of beef and clothes "so long as the sun shone, the rivers ran, and the rain fell" psychologically many Indian leaders were faced with an insoluble problem. To accept the White man's challenge to work, marked a relinquishment of the price of peace. To refuse to work marked a people for stagnation, disintegration, and spiritual death. Many older Indians still hesitate between the choices; many who would choose work have found themselves lacking in skill, in knowledge, or in opportunity. It therefore remains for the Indian school to help the student to make voluntarily the only decision compatible with self respect. The school must then assume the greater task—to provide the skill and the experience through application of which, self support may be won.

The traditional academic program of the American high school has no place in the picture. Learning for learning's sake is a luxury which can be bought only at the price of permanent shiftlessness for many of our Indian young people. The Indian schools must teach the boys and girls to make a living—in a majority of cases from the assets in their immediate environment.

In the Dakotas, on most of the reservations where the grazing land retained in Indian ownership is still adequate, cattle raising appears to be the answer to economic self-sufficiency. For those whose homes can be made along the streams and rivers, subsistence gardening and poultry raising may well become the skills of the women folks. Boys must learn to ride the range, brand and castrate the cattle, build and maintain fences, wind breaks, and snow shelters. With these skills intimately associated with the range life, must go the skills in dealing with wood, metal, leather, and other tools and materials of life on the farm and range. These young people must learn how to build their own houses, dig their own irrigation ditches, preserve their own food, make their own clothes, and raise their children with greater respect for modern sanitation and conservation of health.

In western Oklahoma where many Indians still own good farm land, the particular skills that are needed must be expressed in terms of the lands which they will farm, the poultry which they will raise, or the livestock which must be grazed, under conditions totally different from those in the Dakotas. Many of these Oklahoma students, however, come from small towns or the rural areas immediately adjoining such towns, and may look forward to earning their living as carpenters, shoemakers, or masons. However, if they are to look forward to making a living upon graduation, they must have had experience in doing the things in school which they aspire to do after graduation. After all, we learn to do by doing, not by talking about it.

Each school might be taken up individually and an application of these principles indicated. That, however, appears to be the immediate responsibility of the faculties concerned.

Are students being adequately prepared to earn a living? The answer to this question is not to be found in written examinations and school marks. The proof of the success of our training will be measured by the number of our graduates who, two and three years after school, are making a living by the means that our schools have taught them. To bring this to pass will necessitate a new definition of a school program.

One can't learn cattle raising or farming, shoe making or carpentry, in 90 minutes a day sandwiched in between 45 minutes of English and 45 minutes of mathematics. The ebb and flow of life on the farm or range cannot be made to conform to summer vacations or Sundays off and a school program which pretends that reality partakes of such artificial divisions of time and effort can only delude the student, not prepare him for participation in life.

All of this should not be interpreted as indicating that the study of language and literature, arithmetic or history, has no place in our schools. Properly planned in terms of the interest and needs of our Indian students, these learnings have place, not only as the tools of understanding, but as the foundations of culture. But in the educational program with which we are confronted, the teaching of these subjects must be adjusted in time and place to the more important problem of learning to earn a living. If we fail in equipping our children to do this, we deny them the self respect and stability of character which rests upon the security of self support.

4. LABOR IS HONORABLE

MANY people have gone into the teaching profession to escape the "drudgery" of some more manual form of labor. They tend, therefore, to assume that a wise vocational choice upon the part of their students will resemble their own. "Educated" Whites have developed in their own minds elaborate "caste distinctions" in the matter of work.

The refusal of teachers to train students for jobs that are waiting to be done is not confined to the Indian Service. Throughout American education, the teacher thinks of white-collared jobs as "good jobs," and attempts to guide all ambitious pupils toward an academic type of education as the only "respectable" goal.

How many White boys when expressing the major childish ambition to become a streetcar motorman or conductor, a railroad engineer, a fireman or policeman, receive encouragement from their teacher? And how many get the implication that such an ambition is unworthy? Why being an auto mechanic, a Diesel engine operator, or an aviation mechanic is for the moment thought by many teachers to be respectable for Indian youngsters is not entirely comprehensible. There manifestly aren't enough jobs of this "desirable" type to absorb all the Indian students who are being encouraged to think in these terms, if one forgets for the moment all the White boys who are guided with equal lack of judgment.

What do native children want to learn? What kind of life can they look forward to? Are we capable of an impersonal examination of these questions? At the moment, it is doubtful if many of us are.

An analysis of pupil "ambitions" on one northern reservation revealed that the elementary youngsters in the day schools looked forward without exception to some type of life activity at home on the reservation. Yet all the high school seniors on the same reservation expressed themselves in terms of urban activities "off the reservation." How and when had this change come about?

The answer was revealed in an analysis of the attitudes of the high school teachers toward reservation life. None of them could see any chance for an Indian youth to "make a success of life" on the reservation. Analyzed further "success in life" meant getting a job that paid wages. Bricklaying, auto mechanics, carpentry, and plumbing for the boys, and teaching, stenography, beauty culture, and doing housework for Whites, for the girls, were recommended possibilities. Naturally the reservation offered no wage jobs of this type, except occasionally under temporary stimulus of some governmental activity.

The fact that subsistence gardening, cattle raising, tanning, harness making, blacksmithing, and similar activities, or combinations of several such skills, offered opportunity for self sufficiency was completely ignored. And the further fact that most girls of the age of high school graduates married and set up housekeeping was even looked upon as an evil to be postponed if possible. Naturally, children so conditioned had lost touch with reality, and were dreaming in terms of unrealizable ideals.

Not only were most of these youngsters temperamentally unfitted for the work they were talking of doing, but in that particular section of the country the racial prejudice against Indians was such that they would not have been employed in the type of work they had been advised to train for, so long as White boys could have been found who were willing to undertake the work.

Let us at least try to be honest with ourselves and our children. Let us get away from sentimental "escapes from reality," and realize that more than 50 percent of the employed Whites of this country make their living, and are glad to do so, from some of the types of labor we've been guiding Indian children away from as "beneath them."

All honest labor is honorable. Indian young people must be taught to do the things that will make them self sufficient, which in many instances will provide subsistence, but little ready money. If this much can be accomplished and Indians freed from their present dependence upon charity and direct relief, they will have been placed upon a plane of economic equality with half their White fellow citizens and more than half the population of Europe.

5. CAPACITY TO CHANGE

ROUGHLY, human beings divide themselves into two classes. There are those who are content to learn a simple formula for making a living and who expect to spend the rest of their days living by that formula. This group seems to embrace the vast majority. Contrasted with it, is a small group of eternally restless individuals whose imaginations are not content with the routine repetition of a task once learned and who spend a great deal of their time looking for better ways in which to do the things that must be done. Most of the world's progress in the direction of civilization has been brought about by the second type of individual. There have been some races and some periods in the history of these races when growth of this kind was particularly rapid. These have contrasted with other races and other periods of time when conditions favored maintenance of things as they were, which ultimately results in stagnation and then retrogression.

One of the elements which has contributed most to the material growth of the United States has been the fact that psychologically we have tolerated and even encouraged those with imagination and initiative. Resisters have always existed and have always fought the innovators as dangerous, ridiculous, and disturbers of the peace. But the unlimited opportunities and the challenge that lay in the vastness of our natural resources. have favored the man who had the courage and initative to dream new dreams. When the stodginess of one community became suffocating, he could move out onto a new frontier.

Stepping from the general to the specific, an organization like the Indian Service is continuously confronted with both types of individuals. In general the conditions under which it operates favor the conservative, for rules and regulations can usually be invoked in protection of the man who plays safe. Yet if progress is to be made, if reservation programs are continuously to be expressed in terms of the needs of the Indians, if economic selfsufficiency is to become a reality, if the training offered to Indian young people in federal schools is to fit them to take advantage of the opportunities which will be offered them after graduation, these problems must be approched both courageously and with imagination. The work which is to be done must be seen not in terms of preserving the simple, traditional formulas of the past, regardless of their applicability, but with a view to a clearcut and honest analysis of what is now needed and a willingness to modify existing patterns in terms of these needs.

Applied to the work of the Education Division, this means that many teachers need to give thought to preparing themselves to modify the content or the method of what they are now teaching. There is accumulating evidence that much of the instruction in skilled trades offered in Indian schools does not prepare young people for jobs in which they can earn a livng. Indians in reservation areas are finding greater opportunities for self-support in the exploitation of natural resources found on the reservations than in non-reservation wage work. Opportunities for employment as carpenters, masons, plumbers, or electricians, in such areas of Indian concentration as the Papago, Pima, Apache, and Navaho reservations of Arizona, the Sioux reservations of the Dakotas, or even the rural rancherias of California are almost nonexistent. The only jobs of this kind are with the government and, of course, are exceedingly limited in number.

While it may be of some value to an Indian to know how to work with wood to an extent that would enable him to build or repair a house in which wood was used, or to work with cement enough to know how to mix and pour a foundation or water trough or some other simple practical farm structure, the likelihood that he can earn his living by working with timber, concrete, brick, or stone for pay is very unlikely. On such a reservation as the Hopi or on portions of the Navaho where outcroppings of native stone are to be found, skill in quarrying, cutting, and laying stone to the extent that will be helpful in home building, or the erection of community structures, will have a practical application, but the possibility of finding wage employment in work of this kind is remote. For boys who are to live in these areas to learn plumbing or electric wiring is entirely pointless, for aside from repairs to government structures, no work of this kind exists or is likely to exist in the near future among the greater portion of the reservation population.

The rebuilding of the vocational courses for boys to provide industrial and mechanical skill which will be utilized primarily in home improvement rather than for self-support is clearly indicated. It is equally evident that young men who are going to live in the reservation areas must make their greatest contribution to self-support through some form of agriculture or work with livestock. In each case specifically what they are to do will be determined by the opportunities presented by the land which they own or which they can acquire through lease or assignment. The teaching program should therefore be expressed in these terms.

This seems so obvious that it is a little difficult to understand why an agriculture teacher sent into an area where food for poultry is difficult to provide insists upon teaching poultry raising, when by any analysis, it should be apparent that such a project is economically unsound and fundamentally useless to the people concerned; or why a shop man who personally has developed skill in teaching plumbing persists in a determination to teach plumbing when there is no possibility that his students will ever be able to make use of the skill when it is learned. We also encounter the shop man who has been brought up to work in wood or stone who disregards native materials such as adobe or rammed earth in an area where wood and stone are nonexistent, refusing to adjust himself to the new needs of his job and demanding rather that his students learn the things which he wishes to teach, whether the knowledge would be of use to them or not. In many cases, such teachers not only fail to adjust themselves to new needs, but often actually misrepresent the conditions which exist, in an apparent effort to perpetuate that which is useless in order to protect themselves from the need to modify their own practices.

The same kinds of incongruity exist equally on the academic side. Teachers who have learned to teach formal high school mathematics persist in teaching algebra and geometry, or the equivalent, to children who have no need for algebra or geometry, rather than attempting to find out what the children do need. Teachers of English literature persist in teaching the English classics to children whose entire cultural background makes the stories relatively meaningless, rather than hunting for examples of English prose that may have significance to the children. Science teachers who have learned a formula for teaching quantitative physics, chemistry, or biology in the traditional college preparatory pattern refuse to recognize that their students are interested not in science in the abstract with a view to becoming research physicists or chemists, but are fundamentally concerned with the effect of water upon soil, or soil upon water, with the selection, and proper cultivation of plants suitable to the area where they are destined to live, or with the selection, breeding and ranging of livestock so as to conserve the grazing areas which are their chief resource.

The individual teacher often distorts his instruction to fit his own peculiar preference or skills, refusing to recognize the challenge to develop new knowledge, new skills, and greater understanding so that his teaching shall be of prime significance to his students. There are still instances in the Indian Service where insistence upon useless instruction simply because the teacher is prepared to give it, appears to excite little comment because it is accepted as a vested right of the teacher.

Every service wishes to preserve and utilize to the fullest extent the members of its personnel who through experience should be best qualified to meet its many needs. The Indian Service is expending considerable sums yearly in in-service training through summer schools and publications in an effort to provide opportunities for each of its teachers to qualify to meet the new challenges of Indian Education. Is it too much to ask that each teacher review the problems with which he is actively confronted, evaluate his own fitness to meet these problems and then consider what steps in self-training may be necessary in order to satisfy these new demands? To cope with living situations replete with changes we need an increase in the number of people who have the courage, the imagination, and the initiative to examine continuously into the need and then attempt to satisfy it, making as they proceed such improvement in their own equipment as may appear to be necessary.

6. LAND: PRIMARY RESOURCE

INTENTIONALLY or unintentionally many who have posed as friends of the Indian have been giving him some very shortsighted advice. This advice has been repeated by representatives of the Education Division, and for many years formed the basis of the vocational guidance program of the Indian high school. In a few words, it consisted in saying to the Indian that if he would become civilized and adopt White ways, he must leave the land and get some kind of a job in the cities. There were those who went a step further and conditioned his acceptance by White society on his ability to get a college degree. But primarily, his acceptance of civilization was to be measured by the degree to which the Indian deserted his home, his people, and his economic resources. Rather than recognizing that social change occurs gradually through slight modifications of existing practice, there seemed to be a determination to transform the Indian as completely as possible at one fell swoop. Rather than accepting the transition from buffalo hunting to cattle herding as a normal and gradual adjustment for the Sioux, there was a concerted attempt to make a farmer or a wage craftsman out of him, despite the fact that his lands were not farm lands and that his part of the country would not support factories or large cities.

Wherever the attempt has been made to discourage Indians in the use of their land, on the ground that they would acquire civilization much more rapidly by the acceptance of other pursuits, it has been interesting to note that their places on the land have been taken by White men. There have been times when the advice to Indians by their well wishers that they abandon the land, could not have been better timed to suit the desires of land hungry Whites, if these latter had planned the appeals themselves. It should be self-evident that if land owned by Indians is coveted by Whites for purposes of farming or stock raising, it is probably pretty good land for Indians to hold and use for the same purposes themselves.

The leasing system by which two families attempt to live off the proceeds of one farm is in most cases viciously extravagant, with the result that one or both families must accept a depressed standard of living. If the land is capable of supporting a family unit it had far better be farmed or grazed by its Indian owners, whose efficiency can be made equal to that of the White lessee through adequate education and guidance. The Indian might reasonably expect to attain a better standard of living from the entire proceeds of the land than from the rental which of necessity must be low enough to enable the White man to support himself after the rent is paid.

Where rented land is in heirship status and no single Indian has the right to exploit it for his own benefit, it will be far wiser to undertake the training of younger Indians in intelligent use of such land so that they may pay the rental fee to the associate owners and operate the land 100 percent to Indian advantage.

Real economic rehabilitation of the Indian will never come about except through his own willingness to work. Every time agents of the government encourage the leasing of Indian lands which might be operated by Indians themselves, they are weakening the possibility that Indians may ultimately achieve economic self-sufficiency, for they are encouraging the idea that an Indian may do without the facilities from which a good living may be earned, in return for a pittance which may barely support him in idleness. While unwise advice may initiate or perpetuate this undesirable condition, its final correction must rest upon the decision of Indians themselves that the future of their race depends upon the willingness of its members to earn and maintain their "place in the sun" through hard work and intelligent exploitation of their own assets.

7. LEARNING SELF HELP

AN INDIAN Service field employee had a way with Indians. After hours he visited in their homes—they in his. His secret, if any, was that his Indian associates were neighbors and friends and not merely men of an alien race with whom his work brought him into occasional professional contact.

One young friend lived in a little cottage, with the barest of necessary furniture. A bench here and a stool there were about all the comfort he could offer a guest. One night he visited the employee on an occasion which proved memorable to both. It was in the days when Uncle Sam furnished his employees with a few straight-backed wooden chairs and an occasional wooden rocker. The employee had yearned for more than this, and he and his wife had saved a little each month, and bought themselves some upholstered living room furniture. When the Indian called he was offered the place of honor in the new overstuffed chair.

Sitting down in gingerly fashion, he finally lost himself in its comfortable depths. Several times during the evening his hand caressed the smooth upholstery and he relaxed more comfortably.

"Do you like the new chair?" he was asked, to which he responded with an enthusiastic affirmation.

"Would you like to own one like it?" was the next question. Again the answer was, "Yes."

"Then why don't you buy yourself one?" asked the employee.

"Got no money," was the prompt and frank response.

"Would you be willing to work for one, if I showed you how you could earn it?"

"Yes, I'm not afraid of work."

"Then go home and plow an extra half acre, and plant it to potatoes. Promise yourself that you will care for that crop as carefully as for your family garden. Don't use any of the produce for any other purpose. When you harvest the crop and sell it, you'll have the money for the chair you want."

With further encouragement from his White friend, the Indian boy prepared, seeded, and cared for his extra half acre. When harvest time came he carefully sacked his crop and sold it. Next month he had *his* overstuffed chair.

If the story stopped there it would be of only passing interest. What happened next is of importance. The Indian boy had learned that by extra work, he could obtain extra comforts. He had gained the ability to visualize greater comforts, plan carefully for their attainment, and then drive himself to extra exertions to satisfy his wants. The cycle of human achievement had run its course through thinking to action by another individual.

Fortunate indeed was that Indian youth to have found a friend who had *shown him a way to help himself*, rather than the too common sentimentalist who would have written to some Christian community in the East for donations to "help" the poor Indian.

Whether the Indian needed such a chair may be an open question. Countless individuals of many races on each of the six continents have found the ground an entirely satisfactory seat; cultures as intellectual as that of western Europe have been achieved by men who "squatted on their hams." No merit inheres in a chair, or any other item which one race may have found convenient, while another race has learned to do without. The point is, that an individual developing a desire, had reorganized his life so as to satisfy that desire through his own efforts.

The acquisition of the chair, the clothes, the food, the house, or whatever the Indian needs is of less importance than the habit of mind implanted in the individual with regard to the satisfaction of needs.

During the nineteen-twenties in this country the White race teetered on the verge of losing sight of that inevitable principle—things came too easy, and youth in many areas began to demand as a right the luxuries which their parents had won by the "sweat of their faces."

In the White man's effort to make up by "generosity" to today's Indians for his race's former ill-treatment of their ancestors, the Indian may be facing a more dangerous enemy of his racial integrity, than he confronted when he was in direct conflict with the Whites. More than the Indian needs such generosity, he needs help in learning the skills of the White man, in order to become self-supporting in a world in which the White man has destroyed the resources to which the Red man was accustomed, but left him other resources which he must learn to use.

8. ENJOYABLE WORK MOST EFFICIENT

FOR many years there has been a growing group of educators who have believed that going to school and learning things well, could be fun. They went so far as to assume that the more fun students got out of going to school, the harder they would work, and the more they would accomplish.

At the beginning, nobody was quite clear as to just how incentives were to be developed which would result in work becoming fun. It is generally recognized that the more successful a person is at a given skill, the more he enjoys practicing that skill. Dubs don't continue playing baseball, skating, or bowling very long, while those who feel the satisfactions of achievement are apt to put in long hours of additional preparation and effort. In applying such revolutionary ideas to education, the experimenters were in conflict with the general attitude toward education held by most people, including teachers, who for a long time had thought of schools as places where children were gathered together and forced to do unpleasant things. The very unpleasantness attaching to some educational experiences was supposed to be meritorious, in much the same way as our ancestors once said of medicine, "The worse it tastes, the better it is for you."

Gradually these modernists in education evolved through a good deal of experience some successful principles for obtaining the kind of intellectual effort which they sought.

1. The greater share children play in planning educational experiences, the more interested they become and (all things being equal) the harder they work.

2. The more responsibility they feel for the outcome of the work which they are doing, the harder they will work.

3. The more individual initiative they are permitted to show in planning their work, the more fun they get out of it, and the more work they do.

4. Maximum effort correlates closely with careful planning and clearly accepted objectives.

5. Lack of well planned objectives leads to time wasting and loss of interest.

6. The harder people work for ends which they accept as their own, the happier they are likely to be in what they are doing.

7. Freedom under responsibility develops self-discipline.

8. There is of course a converse to practically all of these principles.

   a. Routine work without understood purposes is dull and discouraging.

   b. Freedom without responsibility leads to license.

   c. Responsibility without freedom produces frustration.

It hasn't always been easy to apply these principles in school practice because the people who understood their meaning have been limited in number. The idea of permitting children to share in planning has been thought of by half-baked progressives and dyed-in-the-wool conservatives both as a "go as you please" approach to education. The relinquishment of minute controls over method and conduct has been thought of as loose discipline and lack of standards. There have been many lazy teachers who have talked about creative activity, but have neglected the important element of group planning so that work has been purposeless and esprit de corps has been lost. Errors of this kind have frequently been quoted against the newer schools, while it has been difficult to secure objective measurement of desirable results in support of the basic principles, in schools where there has been sound application.

J. Wayne Wrightstone,[1] now Assistant Director of the Division of Test and Measurements, New York City Board of Education, spent several years in appraising newer practices in elementary schools and has produced a good deal of evidence to prove that good progressive schools have produced academic results equal to or better than good traditional schools, and have in addition produced more desirable social relationships and superior critical thinking. The recent report of the evaluation staff of the Progressive Education Association[2] which has been studying the success of graduates of progressive high schools in typical American colleges and universities has also found that students from progressive schools are at least equal to graduates of conventional schools in the academic routine and are far superior in the leadership which they furnish in extra-curricular activities. However, all of this data has been limited to the classroom and its products.

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[1] Appraisal of Newer Elementary School Practices. J. Wayne Wrightstone, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College Columbia Univ. N. Y. C.

[2] Did They Succeed in College? Chamberlin, Chamberlin, Prought and Scott, Harper & Bros., N. Y. C.

A recent study carried on in a large industrial plant of the Western Electric Company at Hawthorne, near Chicago has inadvertently furnished concrete evidence in support of the basic theses of progressive education as applied to adult employees in industry. In 1942 the company employed several efficiency experts from Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology to study the conditions under which their 30, 000 employees worked, to discover what environmental factors influenced production. *The Readers Digest* for February, 1941, contained an article by Stuart Chase entitled "What Makes the Workers Like to Work" which summarizes the results of this experiment.[3] The study began by assuming that better light would improve output. Two groups of employees were selected. The "control group" worked under a constant amount of light; the "test group" was given increasing light. Both groups responded with increased output. A dozen different experiments were tried, a majority of which increased output for the group with which they were tried. Finally all of the improvements were canceled and initial conditions restored, and again the output increased. "They had thought they were returning the girls to 'original conditions' but found those original conditions were gone forever." Some unknown factor, X, was operating and had changed the morale of the group with which they were working.

"This X wasn't in the production end of the factory. It was in the human end. It was *attitude*, the way the girls felt about their work and their group. By asking their help and cooperation, the investigators had made the girls feel important. Their whole attitude had changed from that of separate cogs in a machine to that of a congenial group trying to help the company solve a problem. They had found stability, a place where they belonged, and work whose purpose they could clearly see. And so they worked faster and better than they ever had in their lives. . . .

"With this discovery, the results of the Hawthorne lighting experiment became clear. Both groups in the lighting test had been made to feel important. So their output went up regardless of the candlepower sprayed upon them. With increase in interest in their work, there was an 80-percent decrease in absences. The girls were actually eager to come to work.

"Each girl had her own technique of placing and assembling parts. Sometimes she indulged in little variations; the higher her I. Q. the more the variations. This helped to give her a real interest in the task. Beware, you stop-watch, motion-study men, of destroying little ways like this. You may run into the paradox of decreasing output by saving motions.

"The girls moved as they pleased, talked as they pleased. Nobody shushed them. They discovered they were having a good time, and said so. They remarked also that they felt as if they had no boss.

"With this sense of freedom came a sense of responsibility, and they began to discipline themselves. They worked as a team, helping each other, making up each other's work when one of the group was not feeling well, giving parties for one another outside the factory. They squabbled a bit but underneath they were members of the same gang. They found here some of the clan unity which the machine age has stripped away from so many workers."

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[3] As reported in "Management and the Worker" by Professor F. L. Roethlisberger of Harvard and W. J. Dickson of Western Electric, Harvard University Press.

Other careful tests confirmed this: Feelings not only counted more than hours of labor; they often counted more than wages. How the investigators found that the more concern industry paid to its workers as individuals, the greater the improvement in morale, concludes the story.

Advisers were set up to whom employees were free to talk about their troubles. These troubles were personal as well as related to the work of the factory. Frequently it became evident that for the morale of the worker it was more important to get his troubles off his chest than to have anything specific done about them. "Workers regarding themselves as important around the place began to be *with* the company rather than against it." Those who did the interviewing, after remembering what dozens of workers had on their minds, never could think of the employees again as units of mere labor.

Thus we learn through the meticulous investigation of employment practices by a large business concern that the individual is important and that to the extent that he feels himself to be personally of value in the planning and working out of the work he is expected to do, he does more and better work. So at last we have measured evidence that the principles of progressive education are sound, not only within the classroom, but in the organization of a school faculty, of agency personnel, or of a business.

9. EDUCATION A PROFESSION

THE process of education is frequently confused with what goes on inside a classroom between a teacher and a group of children. That should be education, surely, in a very concentrated form, but it is a very limited aspect of education. Every endeavor to introduce new ideas, new skills or technics, or new customs or beliefs to an individual or to a group of people is an educational undertaking, and to be most effective should be carried on by the best educational methods.

It is clearly recognized that engineering and medicine have developed greatly in the last two decades. The George Washington Memorial Bridge across the Hudson at New York City is one of the greatest suspension spans yet built and was a physical impossibility at the time the Brooklyn Bridge was constructed in 1883. Man has conquered the air in 40 years and today has realized air speeds which would have been considered fantastic a decade ago. Insulin has been discovered to double the life span of diabetics; vitamins have been found which revolutionize our attacks on mal-nourishment, and in a thousand ways the medical profession has lengthened life and removed the sources of disease and death. Within the last few years sulfanilamide and its related componds have led in the assault on a whole series of crippling and death dealing diseases. Such progress in the fields of science is now taken for granted, is even anticipated, and is popularly accepted with avidity.

Yet for some inexplicable reason it is assumed by many people that education is still tied to the technics of our childhood, and what is sometimes more serious, that it should be limited to the skills of Ichabod Crane and the little red school house. Those were days when the teacher "told 'em" and they (meaning the children) sat and took it. Behind the teacher, hanging from a nail on the wall, was a bunch of switches, with which to stimulate the mind, or discourage the spirit of investigation of the pupil who was not satisfied to accept the ready made answers of the poorly prepared teacher.

Strange as it may seem, the very men who as youngsters resented such treatment from the ill-equipped teachers of their youth, now frequently look back to those days as furnishing patterns of desirable teaching, and if they have not come in contact with modern schools or modern technics of teaching, tend to repeat, in their own use of education, its outworn and discredited patterns.

Just as there are doctors who do not keep abreast of technical developments in medicine, architects who are not prepared to use the new construction materials, and engineers who are content to work with yesterday's formulae, so there are educators who do not keep abreast of the best practices in the field of teaching.

New knowledge in any field results from ceaseless investigation of the worth of current practice and equally intensive experimentation to discover better procedures. Dealing as it does with human motives and human reactions, education has not lent itself to the exact measurements of physics or chemistry, but its progress has been as definite as that of psychology and psychiatry, which are kindred fields.

Just as a competent irrigation engineer is called upon when a survey for a dam is undertaken, and a skilled livestock man is consulted when cattle or sheep are involved, so a trained educator should be consulted when plans are contemplated which will involve the modifications of human attitudes or habits.

Repeatedly we are told in the Indian Service that Indians will do this or won't do that. One superintendent avers that Indians aren't farmers and never will be; another assures us that Indians lack mechanical skill and can never become good carpenters or plumbers; and a third asserts that Indians won't give the personal attention to animals that is required of a successful livestock man. Each of these men can quote instances in which unsuccessful attempts were made to change individual Indians, and from these they arrive at a conclusion about all Indians, which in a majority of cases is totally unsound.

Usually the story is self-explanatory and to one used to "educating" human beings the reasons why the attempts were failures are tragically clear. The methods followed in endeavoring to modify the attitudes or habits of the Indians were those calculated to promote indifference or arouse resistance rather than cooperation, and naturally accomplished what could have been foretold.

All around us, Indians are farming and are learning to farm when the approach has been right and the resources and opportunities propitious; and Indians are proving to be good stockmen, or good carpenters or good auto drivers when the training has been right and other psychological or environmental factors have been right. Such matters aren't solely school responsibilities, for the control of environment is frequently in the hands of other divisions, or depends on Whites in the community, or other factors beyond the control of the school. All these factors are educational factors, and could have been modified in such a way as to contribute to the desired end, had they been controlled with an *educational* purpose in view.

The educator recognizes that changes take place slowly and that to have a permanent effect on the actions of an individual the change must alter the individual's attitudes, objectives, and life values. Most people who are thinking *for* others tend to ignore the inner drives that are at the bottom of human actions. It is discovered that certain land will grow good farm crops if enough water can be obtained. Water is located which can be diverted to the land as a result of irrigation development. Simple! We'll make farmers out of these people who've always been nomadic stockmen! So we build dams and laterals and subjugate the land and tell the Indian to get behind a plow and tractor—and he doesn't respond.

Or we hire a generation of Indians to do manual labor for a fortnightly pay check, while we're getting farm land ready for their use. Then we stop the pay check, and are surprised that the Indian doesn't begin immediately to grow alfalfa or cotton.

Because money, planning, and labor will alter the potentialities of a region, we often devote our entire time to these physical aspects and ignore completely the psychological factors that enter into the individual's or the group's readiness to revolutionize habits and values, to the end that the new resources may be fully used.

On the physical side, Indian Office planning is becoming more and more careful and exact. On the human side, which is equally if not more important, we still tend to ignore our elementary human psychology and then "cuss" the Indian because over night he fails to change his habits and his values to suit the changes in his economic opportunities which we have brought about, without consulting him or preparing him for his new role.

Educators won't be right always in their advice, but neither are doctors, lawyers, or engineers. But in educational matters, educators will be right far oftener than those without educational training, just as doctors will diagnose disease correctly far oftener than layman. It may take a little time to realize that all matters affecting the modification of human attitudes and skills are phases of education. Because an individual is beyond *school* age does not alter the need for an educational approach.

If you try consulting an educator about educational matters, do not be surprised if his advice conflicts with your own snap judgment. When your doctor tells you that the rash you thought was measles is scarlet fever, you usually don't argue. When the engineer tells you that a truss you built isn't strong enough to support a snow load, you usually don't wait until next winter to find out who is right.

Yet when an educational adviser says that a procedure is wrong, and advises a new approach which will take longer or may prove more expensive, the tendency is to brush aside his judgment and follow a hunch. When the project fails because of the human element, the tendency is to "cuss" the stupidity or the unadaptability of the Indians. Instead, remember that the educational approach might have worked.

10. DO YOUR OWN BEST

IT IS assumed that each teacher wants to do the very best job of which he or she is capable, and that each teacher is probably a better judge of what he can do best than any occasional supervisory visitor can be. Therefore each teacher is urged to work toward the educational objectives of the Indian Service, by the methods in which he has confidence he can best achieve them. It is hoped that each teacher will also be sufficiently professional and sufficiently confident in his own ability to grow and to improve his teaching methods, to examine newer procedures, and as he understands them, try to adapt them to his own work. A sincere experiment by any teacher who is seeking to find a better approach will be welcomed, but the success of any procedure can be measured solely by whether or not the desired learning actually takes place in the child. If the child fails to learn, whatever that child's teacher is doing needs to be modified.

Our real measure of success is what happens to the children. If the children are happy, if they are making spontaneous use of English and enjoy doing so; if they are learning to read and enjoy work with books; if they can count easily and are acquiring automatic recall of number combinations, *the teacher is doing a good job* whatever methods he is using, or by whatever phrases he describes his educational philosophy.

On the other hand, if children don't like school, don't speak English with increasing fluency, don't learn to read and have no understanding of number, the *teacher is making a failure of his job*, regardless of whether he claims to be using "progressive methods" or traditional procedures.

Because many modern methods of education take into consideration the differing needs of different children, they must of necessity be more informal than the older practices, which assumed that every child had to respond equally to every situation. Good teachers today are interested in what is happening to each child, and are ready to modify their teaching approach to that child's level of interest or ability. A good teacher doesn't take it for granted that there are a certain number of dumb children in each group, and shrug his shoulders when a dumb one appears. He says "if I haven't taught John how to talk or read by the methods I'm using, how can I change those methods to better help John?"

A good teacher doesn't stick by old methods just because she learned them that way, if her children are failing. She doesn't excuse her failures on the ground that the kids are Indian or Eskimo and therefore can't be expected to learn as quickly or as thoroughly as Whites. There are teachers throughout the Service who are proving every day that Indian children of all tribes and all degress of language handicap can learn, and can learn quickly, if they are properly taught. So if your children aren't learning, begin to study them more closely and *begin to analyze yourself and your methods.*

On the other hand don't do a sloppy job, and blame it on the fact that you are using "progressive methods." If the job is sloppy the methods are wrong, regardless of what you call them. Begin to study yourself and find out why—and then change, and change again until you begin to get results.

If you are doubtful as to what to do, try to find out how some other fellow has licked the problems you are struggling with. Examine your weaknesses and make such changes in your own approach as you understand and begin to believe in.

Don't try to "climb on the band wagon" and give a new lingo to the same old stuff. Don't betray your own integrity by pretending to do something in which you don't believe just because it's fashionable. If you are honest, *you should be your own best critic*, and should know the results that you are getting. Continue doing sincerely the thing you believe in, provided it works. If you aren't sincere and honest with yourself and your children, you won't make much of a teacher, regardless of what you profess to be doing.

11. GROWTH TAKES TIME

AMERICANS must be an impatient race, for all about us advertising slogans continue to repeat that the products which they represent perform miracles over night. "Three shades whiter in three days," "instant relief," "starts instantly on coldest days," greet us from every billboard or newspaper.

As a matter of fact, in our saner moments, we know that none of this is true. Death is one of the few things that ever happens instantly. Life, growth, change are all matters of gradual evolutionary development. Edicts cannot change ways of thinking, and ways of thinking are basically at the bottom of human behavior. Despite the fact that we know this to be true and that all about us are evidences to support that knowledge, it is a human tendency to pretend that it is possible to "cut corners."

For those of us engaged in the social and economic adjustment of a race, it is particularly necessary to remember that change is gradual and that any appearance of sudden transformation should arouse skepticism. The selection of corn for its resistance to drouth and for early maturity is a process involving years of growth, selection, discard, followed by successive repetitions of the same cycle with constant vigilance through the years. The breeding of sheep which will combine the long straight hair of the old Navaho type so suitable to hand spinning and hand weaving, with the heavy body valuable for food, again necessitates delay, through successive generations of cross breeding and careful selection which may ultimately produce the desired result; and again its perpetuation will require constant vigilance in continued selective breeding.

So when we propose a modification in educational method and procedure we must be prepared for an elapse of time during which new ideas are discussed, tried out, and made a part of our daily thinking. We must patiently remember that newcomers among our educational personnel will not have experienced the same period of preparational discussion enjoyed by those who have contributed to the building of the initial program. So careful vigilance will be required, with a generous measure of patience, while these newcomers are allowed to assimilate the background of ideology which has determined much of our own thinking. While we should always welcome the stimulation of new ideas which can enrich and vitalize our practices, we must not allow them to destroy the fundamental purposes of our work, as a strange strain of corn planted to the windward may fundamentally and indiscriminately modify the stock of an adjoining field.

While exercising patience and recognizing that change is a matter of time and effort, let us not for a moment delude ourselves into the belief that desirable change occurs without direction. Scientific selection is consciously directed toward a desired end at all times, it is never a matter of chance variation. So desirable changes in the Indian Service, must wait upon the slow process of human understanding. And the necessary modifications in human thinking upon the part of staff and student cannot be expected to take place without continuous, earnest, and intelligent guidance in the desired directions.

12. FLEXIBILITY DESIRABLE

FLEXIBILITY is a quality which needs greater cultivation in the Indian Service. Employees of the Education Division are inclined to pattern their work on the inflexible model of the American public school. Because the vacation period was originally arranged during the summer harvest season, so that children could assist their elders in this vitally important activity of rural life, it still remains in the summer months regardless of factors which should indicate the need for change, at least in certain sections. Because early learnings committed to the school, such as reading and arithmetic were at one time satisfactorily handled within the four walls of a classroom, some still think of the *classroom* as the necessary scene of *all* education. We don't analyze the needs of each situation and attempt to meet those needs—we fall back on a stereotype and disregard the implications of the case in point.

Those few instances in which our responsible administrators have allowed themselves to be guided by the facts, stand out in clear relief. When mountainous snows closed the Turtle Mountain roads, a winter day school became impossible. Be it to the eternal credit of the responsible administrator that he organized a summer school — despite the fact that some exponents of the traditional program are still uncomfortable at the thought of such variation.

Our vocational schools are supposedly organized to train their students how to hold down jobs. Yet it took unique courage for Flandreau to decide that it was more important for a senior student to get and hold a job, than to complete the particular requirements of certain courses outlined by the faculty. Here and there other vocational schools in the service have followed suit, and accepted actual performance as a greater evidence of fitness for graduation than time serving credits.

But these and similar instances are only indicative of the still greater flexibility which must become an established feature of our educational service. On some reservations the educational staff is at times disturbed because in a good season for wild fruits, pinon nuts or cotton, the children take their rightful place in the fields. To the traditionally minded, this phenomenon is in conflict with time honored school attendance practices. Despite the fact that the fundamental problem of the Indian is economic self-sufficiency, and that Indian children must be encouraged to accept the importance of taking advantage of every natural opportunity to improve their living, teachers throughout the Service allow themselves to become more concerned with average daily attendance than with life. Indian children, doing what Indians must do, if they are to become independent of government subsidy, are made to feel in conflict with their obligation to attend school.

Schools whose main function is the teaching of agriculture or animal husbandry, are still closing for the summer vacation—a period during which many of the most important phases of instruction would normally take place. Instruction in child care is still attempted in the absence of children: boys are still taught to build wood houses in a country where there is no wood, and where adobe, stone, or sod or some such alternative has stood the test of years.

There is no rule which can issue from the Office which will solve all of the problems. Each individual school or reservation faces its own problems and the schools must be flexible enough to meet the need. What is true in Dakota will not be true in Oklahoma or California. There are times when old regulations will appear to stand in the way of logical solutions. The task of the school staff is to analyze the need and propose a program to meet it.

The Office staff must be sufficiently flexible in its turn to modify the regulations wherever possible to facilitate the development of suitable local procedures.

Face your problems in terms of their indicated solutions. It is not a question of making the pupil fit a predetermined school program. *There is no such thing in the Indian Service.* Your duty is to develop a program which fits the child and his needs. Call on the Office for assistance when you need it, but dare to attack your own problems with imagination and originality.

13. NOTHING IS PERFECT

DURING the greater part of the 1930s, the United States passed through a period of unemployment which has reacted disastrously upon youth. Hundreds of thousands of young men and women completing the type of training provided by society in its schools were cast out upon a world which held no place for them. With the doors to useful service closed, ambition and self confidence and even courage itself were stifled. Young men and young women faced a compact, overpopulated world in which the last frontier had been explored and exploited, and as latecomers they were turned back upon themselves. Since the industrial revolution so much has been discovered, so many things invented, so many books written, so many records lowered, that the age-old challenge of the world to youth seemed withdrawn.

It was left for a man of 70, writing the closing chapters to a busy life, to strip the smug complacency from the face of this static world and renew the challenge to youth in ringing terms. In his last published work, "Lincoln Steffens Speaking," the proofs of which he finished correcting the day before he died in August 1936, he sets it down:

"A faucet leaks. I cannot close it tight. Good. I call my seven-year-old son to take another lesson in one of the most important courses I have to teach him. He seizes the faucet, tries to turn it off, can't. He grins.

"What's the matter, Pete?' I ask.

"He looks up happily, and gives the answer. 'Grownups, Daddy.'

"Propaganda, of course. I have taught him that we, his elders, cannot make a fit faucet. And he may. There's a job for him and his generation in the plumbing business. And in every business.

"I teach my child and I tell other children of all ages—pre-school, in school, in college, and out:

"That nothing is done, finally and right.

"That nothing is known, positively and completely.

"That the world is theirs, all of it. It is full of all sorts of things for them to find out and do, or do over and do right. And they eat up the good news. They are glad, as I am, that there is something left for them to discover and say and think and do. Something? There is everything for youth to take over, and it is an inspiration for them to learn:

"That we have not now and never have had in the history of the world a good government.

"That there is not now and never has been a perfectly run railroad, school, newspaper, bank, theater, factory, grocery store; that no business is or ever has been built, managed, financed, as it should be, must be and will be, some day—possibly in their day. . . .

"That the best picture has not yet been painted; the greatest poem is still unsung; the mightiest novel remains to be written; the divinest music has not been conceived even by Bach. In science, probably 99 per cent of the knowable has still to be discovered. . . As for the sports, young men and women are beating our old records every year."

There it is in a few short paragraphs, and how tremendously true. Of course it stands as a terrific indictment of education which has been conducted on the assumption that it required 16 years of a youngster's life to unfold before him only a portion of the conclusions which the world has reached; that we had the answer to all the questions, if he would only listen and learn.

Here we have in a nut shell the difference between the old education and the new education. The new education rejects with finality this assumption that the answers are all in, and demands that school be taught in terms of investigation and discovery. Everything that we now believe it desirable for children to learn through the process of education, was at some time or another in the world's history unknown—subject to discovery. In many instances the need for the knowledge or the skill brought it into being. The realization that there might be a new and better way unleashed the energy of youth and age.

Several times in history, satisfaction with things as they are, has produced periods of hopeless acceptance of existing conditions, and society has conspired to rob youth of its birthright of unsolved problems. Let us realize that our greatest opportunity for leadership lies in the making of each day's schooling a joyous adventure seeking the solution of unsolved problems—unsolved at least to the children—so that in finding their solution, as many individuals as possible may taste of the honeyed nectar of discovery and achievement. And having "discovered," push on to new and untried heights.

2.

CULTURE: BACKGROUND FOR LEARNING

1. SEEK AND FIND

"Indians are just like children—irresponsible, and incapable of serious leadership."

"Indians have a peculiar psychology. You can't treat them like White men. You have to know how to handle them."

"Indian children are very different from Whites. They are sullen, irresponsible, and won't speak up like White children."

"Indian children are shy. They don't have much to say. They don't laugh and play like White children."

THESE and many more words of wisdom and bits of sage advice were passed on to me during the early months of my association with the Indian Service, by teachers, supervisors, reservation superintendents, construction superintendents, missionaries, traders, and others working in one way or another with Indians. Don't misunderstand me. These people did not represent all, or even a large part of the Indian Service personnel, but they did represent a very vocal part. The people who believed these things were outspoken and were quick to volunteer advice to a newcomer.

I am glad that many of my first contacts with Indians in schools and on reservations were made when I was still fresh from daily, continuous association with perfectly normal White children of all ages, through the senior high school, and of slightly higher mentality than the average. I was continually forced to compare the problems presented to me by representatives of the Indian Service as peculiar to their work with Indians, with similar problems which I had been encountering day by day for more than twenty years with American White public school children.

I can honestly say that little which was presented to me as an Indian problem differed materially from similar problems which I have encountered in my contact with White children. After a few months I reached the conclusion that many so-called "Indian" problems were called that because the persons who encountered them had been with Indians just long enough to forget how White children behave under similar circumstances.

Of course I have visited schools in which Indian children have been shy; in which they have given the appearance of being sullen; in which there have been evidences of irresponsibility. Of course I have met adult Indians who have left jobs to go to dances; Indians who have earned a little money and have taken time off to spend it; Indians who have been very unskilled and clumsy in the doing of simple manual tasks; and Indians who have appeared to have difficulty in offering leadership to their fellows in the acceptance and following of White ways.

On the other hand, I have found schools on the same reservation, or at least in culturally similar adjacent communities where exactly the reverse of all these things has been true. I have found Indian children responding gaily in classroom activities that would lead a visitor to confuse them with youngsters in the best of American public schools. I have met older Indian boys and girls in high school, participating in animated discussions, showing the greatest of interest in problems wholly similar to those which their White brethren in public schools discuss and are interested in. I have found adult Indians carrying the most serious responsibility, doing the most skilled work, responding to problems with the most reasoned and subtle judgment born of observation, experiences, and mature thought.

And out of these early experiences in the Indian Service I reached a tentative conclusion. It is that people who expect Indians to act like undeveloped children, never give Indians much chance to be anything else. Those of us who expect irresponsibility encounter irresponsibility. On the other hand, those who expect spontaneous and wholehearted responses from Indian children, those who expect adult Indians to display maturity and judgment will find their expectations fulfilled.

2. WHO ARE THE INDIANS?

ONE OF the greatest difficulties encountered by many who come from White life into contact with Indians is in realizing that Indians are a diverse people. Somehow, by applying the name Indian to all of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the continent, we lose sight of the fact that the term covers a greater number of race and culture groups than are found among Whites on the European continent. The term Indian compares more nearly to the terms European or Asiatic, as embracing many people, than is often realized. If we recognize that by "Whites," we mean Italians, Sicilians, Greeks, Macedonians, Bulgars, Iberians, Andalusians, Dutch, Germans, Gascons, Flemings, Austrians, Danes, Welsh, Irish, Scots, English, Norwegians, Swedes, Russians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Poles and many others, we may have a clear comparison with the many distinct and more highly variant races and linguistic or culture groups native to the North American continent.

Actually, there appear to have been between three and five hundred mutually unintelligible Indian languages spoken within the borders of the United States, which upon analysis probably belong to between eight and thirteen distinct root languages. One has to speak in these general terms, because the study as yet given to the anthropological background of the Amerindian* still leaves many facts undetermined. Over the course of time, groups speaking related languages have come to occupy widely scattered areas. By contact between tribes, there have developed similarities in culture patterns among Indians stemming from different language groups. The seven or eight main culture areas into which ethnologists are likely to group Indian tribes in North America, therefore, do not coincide with the basic language groups, as classified by linguists. Culture areas, however, may define Indian groups with similar religious sanctions, similar hunting or marriage customs, or similar beliefs regarding death, and life after death. Because one's ability to understand another person depends largely upon one's recognition of what that person believes about right and wrong, marriage, death, success in personal achievement, or supernatural control of natural phenomena, it is important that members of the Indian Service, and Whites who associate with Indians, understand first of all that Indians differ greatly among themselves in their beliefs regarding such matters.

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*Amerindian: A term finding currency in scientific studies to distinguish the native of America, from the native of India—the country which Columbus belived he had reached when he landed in the West Indies, and the inhabitants of which are also called Indians. Frequently shortened to Amerind.

This isn't as strange as it seems. Whites have become so accustomed to differences of belief among themselves regarding similar matters, that they have developed a tolerance of such differences, within limits, and are now scarcely aware, at times, that they exist. For instance, there was a time when Spain went in for heresy hunting on a large scale, and tortured persons who disagreed with the accepted religious tenets. This was known as the Inquisition, and most of us found it difficult to reconstruct such an atmosphere of fear and hate among people of similar blood and custom, until recent events in Europe whipped up anti-Semitic outbursts, and dictatorial suppression of free-thinking.

Most of the warfare of the middle ages, which is studied in our high school histories, deals with bitter and bloody quarrels about religion, and minor differences of religious belief. Our own country is the result of humanity's protest against making such differences of opinion matters for bloodshed and injustice Yet one has only to read the history of New England to find Roger Williams and Ann Hutchison among a goodly throng evicted from smug New England towns because they dared to disagree with the ruling religious leaders. And in this country, which we have aptly called the melting-pot of White cultures, our churches tend to distinguish our racial origins long after other signs of difference have disappeared. Wesley, of Scotland; Luther of Germany; Calvin of France, but adopted by many English dissenters; Arminius of Holland; George Fox of England, Mary Baker Eddy of America, and numerous others initiated dissenting groups of "true believers" who have made the religion of Christ a veritable house of Babel, even to the Indian. These and others, we have learned to live with, work with, and respect, and we have learned not to discuss with friends such matters of personal belief upon which we might disagree.

While a common type of costume pervades most parts of the United States, our peoples come from areas where national or local costumes were a distinguishing feature of most communities—in the more sophisticated areas limited to festivals and ceremonial occasions, but still recognized and respected. Stemming back to our own pagan past, are the names of our days of the week, our months of the year; Santa Claus, and the use of the Christmas tree both originated in delightful pagan customs, as do many of the fertility rites of Easter, and the harvest festival of Thanksgiving.

In the field of medicine it is much the same. While the allopaths are strongly intrenched in their control of public and private medicine, elements in the community accept the homeopaths, the osteopaths and the chiropractors as groups having the right to deal with human ills; and a tolerance has developed for those who believe in faith healing, as the Christian Scientists and an array of smaller cults.

Marriage is accepted as a consummation of love by Americans and considered as a business arrangement governing ownership and inheritance of property by Frenchmen. Divorce is an intolerable evil to a Catholic, an unfortunate, but sometimes justifiable step where infidelity has occurred, to many

Protestants, and a reasonable solution to temperamental incompatibility to a growing body of Americans.

Whatever we individually believe about any of these subjects, we are inclined to assume is *right*. While we may tolerate deviations among our "betters," or those over whom we exercise no control, we are liable to be intolerant and unreasonable in condemning different practices among those whom we assume to be our equals or our inferiors. Indian groups who have developed their practices in such matters in the same empirical manner that all other races have, are equally sure that their habits are right. It must never be forgotten, however, that because of difference in cultural areas, Amerinds differ even more in their beliefs than do Whites and are equally intolerant of other Indian groups whose beliefs differ widely from familiar tribal practices. For instance; The attitude of the Navaho toward marriage may differ utterly from that of the Sioux. Beliefs regarding death on the part of plains Indians may differ greatly from those of Pueblo Indians. The sacred bird of one Apache tribe may become a source of food to another group, or its plumage may be used for personal adornment. These differences between Indians may disqualify the Indians of one tribe for understanding cooperation with the members of another tribe, just as much as the differences between White and Indian beliefs may handicap Whites in dealing intelligently with Indians.

Beliefs of this kind are frequently intimately associated with conduct controls upon which tribal Government originally bepended. If we would deal understandingly with the races of people for whose benefit the Indian Service was established, we must make one of our first responsibilities the understanding of the more intimate beliefs, taboos, and ethical controls of the particular tribal groups with which we are working, to the end that we may extend to their beliefs a respect similar to that which we will wish them to accord our own beliefs.

Behavior patterns of the type which have been discussed are seldom matters of direct education. They are, however, subject to modification and adaptation. Through the recognition of the behavior patterns which are controlling the actions of any social group it may be possible to guide in some degree the modifications of these beliefs and actions as the group comes in contact with the different behavior of Whites.

In conclusion, it is important to remember that:

1. There are many and significant differences between Indian tribes in matters of race, language, culture, and belief.
2. Successful cooperation with any group rests upon our understanding of their culture patterns and the respect which we accord their beliefs.
3. Indians are not necessarily better able to understand other Indians than are Whites. It is not skin color but similarity of culture that helps toward understanding.
4. The satisfactory adjustment of our many Amerindian tribal groups to the culture pattern of White America will continue to require study and understanding upon the part of both the Indian and the White employees of the service.

3. IS CHANGE HARMFUL?

AMERIND groups differed in language, physical charactistics, and cultural background before the advent of the White man, even more than the White races of the European continent differed among themselves. These indigenous differences, important as they were and still are, have been intensified, however, by the influence which the White man has exerted in more or less degree upon every Indian tribal group.

In some instances the impact of the White man has been relatively slight upon customs, work habits, language, and religion. The Papago Indians in Southern Arizona and several of the Pueblos, such as Santo Domingo, and Taos have resisted attempts to modify their indigenous culture. Others, like the Zuni and Hopi, have apparently yielded in part to the pressure of the Whites, only to retain more strongly other of their customs.

On the other hand, the Five Tribes, even during the period when they occupied their original Southeastern homes were receptive to new ideas and new influences. Their social customs led them to welcome the foreigner, and early led to inter-marriage with all of the new races which came to this western hemisphere. These customs continued after the transplantation of the Five Tribes to Oklahoma. Today, except for a very limited number of full-bloods driven to the hills of Eastern Oklahoma, the process of amalgamation between the Indians of these tribes and their neighbors has proceeded rapidly, with the result that many original tribal customs have been either completely forgotten or deliberately discarded.

In some cases the modification of Amerind culture patterns by the Whites has followed intensive missionary activities. At other times it has come about through the penetration of Indian country by White men who acquired Indian land through one means or another and began to live side by side with Indians.

For many years during the intermittent Indian wars the slaughter of Indians was on such a wholesale scale and the ruthlessness of the Whites so intense, that it was thought by some that the Indians would cease to exist. Following on the heels of the wholesale transplantation of entire tribal groups came a susceptibility to White diseases which decimated the Indians at frequent intervals. Trachoma, tuberculosis, and venereal disease proved the most serious enemies to the Indians, but measles, whooping cough, and a variety of other childhood maladies of the White man, proved fatal in epidemic proportions to the Amerind people, who lacked the relative immunity of Whites to many of these diseases.

During this period, and as recently as twenty-five years ago, the Indian was spoken of as the "vanishing race." Complete assimilation or annihilation were freely discussed as the only possible alternatives for the Red man. Now, despite the fact that forty years of medical service to the Indian has not relieved him of the great scourges introduced by the White race, it is recognized that the Indian is no longer a vanishing race.

The birth rate among the Navaho and some of the Pueblo villages is several times that of the country at large. With improved medical care the children born to these people are living to grow up. Except for a few of the least favored tribes, the Indian birth rate today exceeds the death rate. With this increase in the birth rate there is a growing pride among many full-bloods in maintaining pure the Indian blood stream. Destruction or assimilation can no longer be predicted. There is every indication that scattered through the Indian country, there will remain for many years groups of full-blood Indians who have adapted their habits enough to get on successfully with their

White neighbors, but who have a strong determination not to sacrifice their racial integrity. Recognizing this fact, what has been the effect of the earlier ruthless destruction of Indian culture patterns?

The culture pattern of any race is the group thinking that controls the religious, ethical, and social behavior of the individuals within the group. In most primitive societies* the culture patterns are worked out in detail, and permit very little deviation to the individual. Many phases of life which the cultured White man believes are determined by reason and thought are settled for a primitive people by a well established code which is enforced with little or no modification by the tribal elders, and followed by all good parents, in training their children. Continued good behavior by the young rests upon continued maintenance of respect for the old. These culture patterns weld together the members of each tribe and control the personal behavior of its members.

Culture patterns change slowly. Individuals whose conduct differs materially from the standards of the group are likely to suffer ostracism even though ultimately their example may result in modifications of the group pattern. Abrupt changes from the outside which destroy the control of the older group almost invariably result in chaotic disintegration of the personal behavior of the younger members of the tribe, who are still in the process of learning what is customarily desirable.

This social disintegration under the impact of changing culture is not peculiar to Indians. It occurs among White children where the American public school has destroyed respect for some of the older European cultures. The gangster and his "moll" are the product of such culture disintegration in large cities.

The situation would not be so difficult to deal with, if White culture had any uniform pattern to substitute for that of the Indian which it destroys. But in our present stage of social development, the White man speaks with a myriad of tongues, from the minister of the gospel, who preaches a "way of life," to the cow puncher, who "takes what he wants when he wants it." In the face of such facts those responsible for directing Indians' adjustment to civilization, must pause before knowingly destroying the indigenous social controls under which many Indians are still living.

4. IN-GROUP: OUT-GROUP

MOST of us have heard the story of the conscientious old Quaker who, greatly impressed with the peculiarities of mankind, ruminated one evening to his good wife somewhat as follows:

"Sarah, hast ever noticed that all the world saving thee and me art passing strange," and after a moment's thoughtful pause "and at times, even thee art a little queer?"

It is matched by the story of the fond mother who, watching a company of soldiers march by, commented that all were out of step saving her Jim. Both illustrate facts with which we are all in such daily contact that we become oblivious to them. Reduced to abstract terms, each of us is the center of his own universe and judges others by his own standards or prejudices.

Next to this loyalty to self comes loyalty to family. This was more apparent in the days of large families which lived together, or near each other, than it is today. Mazo de la Roche, in her interesting series of Jalna books, dealing with the Whiteoaks family of southern Canada, gives an amaz-

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*Coming of Age in Samoa, by Margaret Meade.
Growing Up in Guinea, by Margaret Meade.
Patterns of Culture, by Ruth Benedict.

ingly accurate portrait of such a family. We have a chance to see the bickerings and open quarrels within the family group which are immediately forgotten in the united front presented by all to any criticism or attack from the outside. Sociologists have termed such a group within which strong loyalties develop an "in group." The term "out group" then describes those who fall outside the charmed circle.

In man's social relationships he is part of many "in groups." The family is, of course, the first and strongest "in group." This "in group" may be expanded by marriage, although "in-laws" always fall just a little outside the most intimate councils of the family itself.

To a child, his play associates or gang with whom he is in daily social contact, become an "in group" and the fellows in the next block or the adjoining township become an "out group" against whom bitter war is frequently waged. There are of course, frequent shifts in the personnel of such a group, but the general principle remains the same. A little later he accepts the school which he attends as an "in group," although when he first enrolls, those who are to become his immediate associates are likely to treat him as a stranger, and put him through some form of initiation rites. These may range from simple ignominious treatment to outright hazing, and his reactions are closely watched before he gains acceptance. In a variety of ways schools have learned to cultivate "in group" loyalties. No other school is quite as good, and rivalries orginating on the gridiron or cinder path may extend through a variety of competitive activities. Within the school itself other "in groups" develop. Organized classes, clubs of various types, and cliques are formed which base their loyalties on similarities of tastes, or prejudices.

Outside of the school other "in groups" develop, such as the church, and ultimately the political party. Colleges, college fraternities, and fraternal organizations outside of the college bid for membership, and demand group loyalties of their members which inevitably arouse feelings of superiority with regard to the organization, and attitudes of critical opposition toward the members of similar organizations, and even antagonism toward those who abstain entirely from such membership.

Graduating from college, or upon leaving school, the youngster begins to find himself a member of either the employing or the employed class. If he is an employer, he automatically accepts certain attitudes toward labor which revolve around the assumption that the employer has the right to purchase what he is prepared to pay for, and which denies to the employee the right to discuss the terms of his employment. Grumbling employees are rebuked with the unanswerable argument that if they don't like the conditions of employment they are always free to resign.

Upon the other hand, if the individual falls within the employed group, his loyalties are likely to lie with those of organized labor. He begins to recognize the injustices which inconsiderate employers may inflict upon their helpless employees. Faced with the continuing struggle to make outgo and income balance, he becomes concerned with the distribution of the profits of enterprise. He is liable to compare himself unfavorably with the investor who demands returns on mere money, and who in order to get them feels justified in reducing wages in such a manner as to lower the standards of living of the wage workers. Thus, without considering the matter we often find ourselves aligned with one group and in opposition to another.

Similarly, among business men the "in group" and the "out group" exist. The president, executive officers, and even employees of one railroad or steel corporation may develop a loyalty toward that institution, despite quarrels with regard to working conditions within the organizaton. Frequently they will go to absurd and sometimes vicious lengths in order to work a disadvantage to a competitive concern. Spying, stealing trade secrets, infringing on patents, and actual misrepresentation of competitors' products may be indulged in, and considered entirely laudable, by individuals who would scorn such practices in their relationships with individual associates. We are frequently reminded of the Puritan New England peddler who could square the sale of wooden nutmegs with the Ten Commandments, and take pleasure in profiting from a "horse trade."

It is an interesting phenomenon of almost every "in group" that it must be particularly antagonistic to some "out group." Religiously, for instance, it is only a short time since Protestants were likely to center their particular antagonism upon members of the Catholic faith. Quite generally, today's Protestant Americans have forgotten the cry of "Papist," with which these religious hatreds were kept alive. Sometimes "in groups" take the form of such belligerent organizations, founded largely on hatred of the outsider, as the Ku Klux Klan, which glorified the Gentile White Protestant, presumably to the exclusion of all others.

Within the last 50 years we have seen the increasing growth of nationalism throughout the world, which has intensified the feelings of critical opposition toward other national groups. Many of the experiences growing out of the first World War served to intensify this nationalism. The new nations resulting from the split-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire largely owed their existence to their ability to arouse strong "in group" feeling among certain elements of the larger population, and similarly to arouse "out group" reactions toward fellow citizens of the empire, toward whom they had previously entertained certain larger loyalties. This intensification of nationalism appears to have reached its most extreme form in Germany and in Japan. In the first country, the Nazi has developed a myth of Nordic supremacy, which carries with it a belief in racial purity and superiority, and which feeds on racial hatred of the Jews and political hatred of the Communists. No individual is immune to these "in group" and "out group" feelings. If you who read this think you are, carefully examine the things which you believe and toward which you feel a sense of loyalty, and the things which you disbelieve and toward which you feel superiority or animosity.

In our relationships with Indians a recognition of these facts is important. To the Whites, upon first encountering the Indians, the very differences in skin color, race, language, politics, religion, and social customs marked off the Indians as an "out group." Many of our early traders justified sharp dealings with the Indians on the ground that they were not White men, and it, therefore, made no difference. Our religious groups rejected the pagan beliefs of the Indians in their entirety and could see little good in them. Gradually, finding continued association with the Indian inevitable, we sought to make him like ourselves and thus more nearly acceptable to the dominant "in group."

In all of this we lost sight of the fact that the Amerind himself looked upon his tribal group as the *chosen people* and viewed other tribes as potential enemies or members of the "out group." The Whites, of course, fell into the "out group" classification.

The word "Illinois" for instance, is not a tribal name but the word of that group of Indians which means that they are "the people." The Navaho call themselves "Diné" which, in their language, also means "the people." Even though the characterization of the "in group" may not always appear in this explicit form, the fact remains that each Indian tribe is an "in group" to its members, and all outsiders belong to "out groups" toward whom various feelings of superiority are entertained, and toward whom, also, latent feelings of antagonism are liable to exist.

Many actions of the Whites toward their Indian friends have served only to intensify such feelings. Let us remember that matters of this kind are not subject to conscious control and direction. They are the result of an unconscious intellectual mechanism. Nevertheless, they are important. It is possible through friendship, fair dealing, and recognition of the similarity of group interests to expand an "in-group" to include members formerly viewed as "out-group." As fellow Americans, Whites and Indians must find common loyalties that will bind them into an "in-group." The great war will result in many joint experiences which will operate in that direction.

5. ONLY ONE RIGHT WAY?

WHEREVER different races are in contact each finds the other lacking in some respects. Where there has been conflict and one race expects to dominate the other there is rather consistent though often unconscious effort to get the dominated race to accept not only actual inferior status but belief in inherent inferiority. A learned Englishman trying to be witty once said in substance: "In England oats is a feed for horses but in Scotland it is the mainstay of the people," the idea being that the English were very superior in that particular matter, the Scots inferior; the truth of the matter being that oatmeal is a very good food for people and that the English along with many other races have learned this and now thank the Scots for developing oatmeal. Eating oatmeal was just as valid an idea in regard to food when it was made a subject of derision, as later when it was accepted. There is a general disposition among people to regard their own ideas as valid, those of others as inadequate and possibly ridiculous. Put to the test of usefulness, in time ideas formerly considered ridiculous may become wholeheartedly accepted.

But have Indians any ideas that are superior which Whites may accept? And if Whites have any ideas valuable to Indians, can Indians ever be expected to learn to use them? There are no doubt many sincere, hardworking Indian Service employees (not to include here the vast majority of members of dominant races working with subordinated races throughout the world) who feel that Indians have few ideas valuable in a modern world and that they do not take on new ones at a rapid rate.

Instances are cited: "Look at the way they have lost their land!" "Why if one of them has anything to eat, all his relatives come and eat it up!" "Can you imagine a house with an air hole right in the middle of the roof and no chimney!" "They never whip their children, consequently the children boss the parents." "The Indians just stay here on the reservation instead of getting out and going somewhere else."

But are all these ideas a clear demonstration of stupidity or wrongheadedness or are they among the worthwhile elements in Indian life which should be retained? As far as the Indians' land is concerned, on a number of allotted reservations 40 percent of the full-blood Indians have retained their land. This is a higher percentage than has obtained among White homesteaders during the last thirty years. In a number of our better farming states operator-ownership of land has dropped from 100, 90, or 80 per cent to as low as 25 per cent in some instances.

In our best stock barns, authorities now require ventilation from floor to roof. Many of the Pueblo Indians continue to build with the central airhole in each room. But under pressure from Whites, tight-sealed houses are being built as modern improvements. Unfortunately, these "modern" houses are not modern enough — a really modern house will provide just as good or better ventilation for humans than prevails in a good stock barn.

Indian parents do not whip their children. Nevertheless Indian parents have a great deal of influence over their children. They try to guide them and they are successful, one would have to admit in a great many instances, in making their children into people much like themselves,—which is what parents all over the world seem to be pretty generally trying to do. Indian parents here and there may be asking teachers to whip their children because they believe such form of punishment is expected by Whites, and they can not or will not bring themselves to give physical punishment. But these cases are the exception. The main group of Indian parents continue the Indian way. Modern educational method would seem to be nearer the Indian way than the old White way, in this case. If individualistic (egoistic), suspicious, negative people are what is wanted, the whipping of children is probably one good way to develop them. Immediate conformity in childhood does not guarantee later conformity, but if achieved by force probably produces resistance, resentment and inner conflict. These attitudes have a profound influence not only on child-adult relationship but on the relationships of adults with each other.

Whites now have to pay cash to get their old and underprivileged people taken care of; Indians take care of them as a matter of course. Human needs are more important, think Indians, than economic needs; the latter should always be sacrificed to the former. It would be granted that many Whites have sacrificed too much for economic considerations. Indian behavior may need modification in this regard, but it is questionable whether the present White way is unconditionally superior or should be adopted by Indians. Many Indians are accustomed to sharing food and services among a family and even among community groups. Nor is this always according to the amount of labor put into the project.

While there was stimulation among the Dakota Indians, for example, for each individual to do his utmost, neither his share of food nor the buffalo hide he received nor his prestige depended, within limits, so much on *what* he did as on *how* he did it. Thirty years ago *local responsibility* for care of the destitute was more active among Whites in the United States. The White method at present is to tax those who are successful in earning a living and support the indigent from public funds. Handling matters of relief locally—the Indian way — is probably superior or in part to the institutional method — the present White way. Possibly a combination of the two is needed, but certainly one cannot consider the Indian method of sharing as wholly out of order. White society, it is said, is built on the principle that individual profit is necessary to maintain efficiency,—but as a matter of fact many of our most successful activities are built on cooperative enterprise. Cooperation, sharing, does not necessarily mean that the individual's best efforts are not put forth. Nor is it proven that the Indian way was not a tactful method for getting the most that could be expected out of each individual without penalizing too severely the willing but less able.

The maintenance of corn-maize plants in a high state of efficiency in each region would have been impossible in a society where production was entirely inefficient. When the Whites came in contact with Indians, practically every group had a corn adapted to its region. Indians learned, adapted, before Whites appeared on the scene and will continue to learn where several reversals of policy do not cause too much confusion.

In 1874 when the total budget, including employees' salaries, on the Navaho was only $5,000, these Indians were raising about 200,000 bushels of corn annually. Ergo, they grew corn undirected and unsupervised. This continued a policy that the Navaho had taken over from the Hopi, perhaps a thousand years before. The corn and other seeds they used were adapted to their high plateaus and other climatic factors.

Probably about 1860, the Minneconjou (Dakota) band under the guidance of their chief had secured regionally *adapted* corn seed from the Arikaras and had begun to plant-by-the-water. That the Dakota bands here and there planted corn at various times and places after beginning their exodus from Illinois to the Dakotas through the lake region, is evidenced by their legends, by such names as Corn Creek Band, and by the behavior of one isolated group of Dakota who without any White help have carried out one of the most interesting of modern seed acclimatizations.

This demonstration in what can be accomplished by regional selection of seed was carried out by the Sisseton Indians, who fled from Minnesota to Canada after the uprising of 1860. This group carried seed corn with them. Year after year this seed was planted and harvested. To this day, almost eighty years later, before every cabin on their reservation near Griswold, Manitoba, at harvest time are strung up bushels of Indian corn. More than that,—for a number of years American seed houses have recognized that these Indians "had something" in this northernmost corn in existence, and a significant proportion of their corn has been purchased by north-central seed houses to be sold as squaw corn seed; this policy being a recognition by the commercial seed houses of the necessity of getting seed from farther north. Put this demonstration of practical agriculture alongside the corn planting practice of Whites in western South Dakota where year after year unadapted seed is brought from farther south, or if from the north from a more easterly location where different moisture conditions prevail. These fields of unadapted corn will demonstrate failure year after year, while right alongside or nearby in the community, squaw-corn will be fighting successfully against grasshoppers and drouth alike.

If modern science has demonstrated one principle thoroughly it is that of selection and breeding for a purpose. Herefords are the favorite on Dakota ranges because "they can take it." But apparently in many sections, unintelligent selection of seed by Whites has helped to deteriorate an asset which Indians under their own leadership have held onto.

Among the Navaho, Hopi, Pueblo and among other Indians where native leadership has continued to function, there is a higher level of economic efficiency among Indians than where White leadership has been more in evidence. Whites have told Indians to farm, lease or sell land where none of these was to the "enduring satisfaction" of the Indians concerned. Indian failures in some cases are evidence of their willingness to take White advice and they often "learned" a sincerely offered but mistaken type of procedure. Many employees deplore the changes and reversals of policy within the Indian Service. How much more difficult they must have been for the Indians themselves.

From the evidence one may conclude that there are elements of Indian life which they should retain, and that Indians can learn from each other and from Whites. Indian failure to carry out programs which Whites consider advisable is not necessarily evidence of Indian lack of capacity to learn from Whites. The program may not be workable or the Indians may believe it is not, which amounts to the same thing.

A great deal of emotion is frequently wasted over Indians' reputed inability to learn, or over the inadequacy of Indian resources for activities which Indians will carry on. However, as has been pointed out, Indians have frequently, prior to interference by the Whites, supported themselves with resources which Whites with their superior equipment and greater overhead consider inadequate. There are also countless evidences of great social changes brought about in Indian tribal customs without White interposition. In these days, however, with Indians and Whites alike, there needs to be more local concern with the *efficient development of all available local sources.*

It is recognized that the present land holdings of the Indians, their most important economic resource, are often insufficient to guarantee their economic self-sufficiency. This administration is committed to a program of land purchase which will relieve the situation in part. In the meantime, what if "relief" does have to supplement present efforts toward self-support? When sincere effort is being made to utilize local resources to the full, at least humanity is being guaranteed its greatest heritage, and strength—the self respect engendered by carrying out an activity made worthy and purposeful by its contribution to personal independence.—*Hulsizer.*

6. ETIQUETTE

EVERY people has its code of manners. Whites, who say "How do you do," "Goodbye," "Beg your pardon" and "Thank you," are shocked that some Indian languages have no words for these politenesses. Yet that does not mean that the Indians are not glad to see one another, sorry when they offend and grateful for favors. They simply have a different method of expressing these attitudes.

Navaho, for instance, ask one another: "Where do you come from? Where are you going?" These are questions which seem impertinent to some Whites but they are a conventional form of greeting. The question "How old are you?" is one which is likely to follow, for the Navaho needs the information in order to call a new companion younger or older brother. But perhaps there will be no greeting of any kind. The Navaho and some other Southwest Indians, often observe silence after entering a house. They feel it indelicate to break into speech without allowing a short period for members of the group to get used to one another.

The idea behind these observances is quite as courteous as that behind the White man's formal phrases. And there are some situations where most Amerinds consider that no phrase is adequate. Why say "Thank you?" The way to show appreciation is to do a return favor, and that quickly. The same holds for "Beg your pardon." The person injured will believe you are sorry when he sees you perform some real act of restitution. Indians, are as considerate in their own way as the White man. In some cases, the two correspond, and then the White may often find that the Indians are more particular than he. Let one who has been long with Indians ask himself if he ever heard one of them interrupt or contradict or shout across the table. These things, in Indian society are literally *not done*. As a result, an Indian sometimes appears uncommunicative. This may be because he is defending himself from impertinent questions. Also it may be because he has been taught not to be aggressive and volunteer information. The polite person is quiet and slow of approach.

But while the White person is convincing himself that the Indian has no intention of being bad mannered, what is the Indian thinking of *him?* Many Indian groups have special codes whose etiquette goes absolutely counter to White usage. And in these groups the White person, while obeying his own standards, may actually be offensive.

Whites, for instance, are used to introducing people by their names and they consider failure to introduce a discourtesy. But in many Indian groups, the mention of a person's name is an offense. A man's name is his private property, and strangers have no right to know it, much less speak it. Sometimes its mention is thought to do the owner of the name a real injury by lessening his power. The census taker therefore may be offering an Indian a series of insults. So may even the kindly visitor who asks of children: "What is your name, dear?"

There are ways around the difficulty if a White person cares to learn them. It is generally quite proper to address a person as "My friends." If he is a Navaho, you can be especially respectful, by calling him "My maternal grandfather" no matter what his age. And if you do want to know his name, for practical reasons, you can get it by inquiring "Where do you live?" When you have that clearly, you can find the name from someone else.

People like the Mohave and many California Indians, not only object to mentioning the names of living people but feel very strongly against speaking the names of the dead. So it is unbelievably rude to ask an orphan child: "What was your father's name?" But if one knew the conventions, he could ask a friend of the family who was "far back on the right" meaning a paternal ancester or "on the left" for a maternal one.

What is a White person to do when he suspects that there may be some such conventions, of which he is ignorant and that he may be offending without knowing it? Actually, there are few better rules than the old nursery rhyme:

"Politeness is to do and say
The kindest thing in the kindest way."

One who goes on this principal will simply act like a considerate and unselfish person and then explain: "I do not know your rules. Please tell me if I offend for it is not intentional." The group will know soon if he is essentially considerate and they will excuse him just as White people excuse a "break" by some one who did not know the circumstances.

One must admit that this sort of considerate person sometimes appears to be the exception among Whites, rather than the rule. White inconsiderateness may often arise from ignorance—not knowing that there are as many patterns of courtesy as there are races of people. In the Indian Service considerateness should be the rule, not the exception, for it is recognized that Indian customs differ from White. But the attitude of many White people appears to be: "If the Indians have not the same manners as I, then they have no manners." So they feel themselves at perfect liberty to walk into Indian houses uninvited, to push into the front at a ceremony and to stand there talking, though everyone else is silent. This is the sort of bad manners which can be recognized in any language and with any code. The Indian who could forgive an uninformed White man for mentioning the names of the dead, sees no reason for overlooking such forms of selfishness, which could be avoided by everyone.

All in the Indian Service can easily avoid such overt rudeness. We can look around as we would, say, in a foreign cathedral and see what the other people are doing and what seems to be proper. We need not cross the path of a procession or walk over a sandpainting. We should not bring cameras to a pueblo where plain signs at the entrances ask that they be left outside. If we want to enter a house or a plaza which seems to be private, we should find someone in authority and ask permission. If we are given any instructions as to the direction in which to go or the place to sit, we should observe them.

We attempt, in our schools, to teach Indians the manners of the White group because they will need them in after life. But our teaching will be much more effective if the Indians know that we ourselves have the essence of good manners: consideration for others.—*Underhill.*

7. INDIAN WARFARE

WAR AMONG the Amerinds is a thing of the past and its suppression is rightfully approved by Indians and Whites alike. Although its suppression eliminated the cruelty and hardship that sometimes accompanied Indian warfare, it has also done away with very valuable and highly necessary activities in the life of Indians, and among the Plains tribes in particular. It is not intended to imply any naive conclusion that Indian warfare should have been preserved, but to appraise the social and educational maladjustment brought about by the loss of warfare, and the regulation of Indian life on reservations

The discussion of war and its effects in these times, understandingly raises opinions and emotions which make it difficult to think impartially about any warfare. Moreover old-fashioned text-books and histories, written exclusively from the side of the White participants created prejudices and distorted judgments of war among the Indians. Indian-White conflicts were accompanied by savage cruelty on both sides, but there was and has been very little favorable "press" for the minorities who were defending their homelands against aggressors, or for the disadvantage of Indians who first fought by a different code and with inferior arms. Yet the meaning and place of Indian warfare in Indian life, cannot be estimated from the era which saw the coming of civilized peoples, but only from its conduct in earlier times.

The nature, conduct and motives of Indian warfare were very different in the aboriginal era than they were later, or from war in other parts of the world. It was far more usual among Indians for small bands to raid encampments of other tribes, than for whole tribes to move against each other. Although Plains war was waged to acquire horses or to avenge some previous killing, the motive was not the annihilation of another group, the conquest of land, nor plunder and tribute. Indian warfare of the Plains, or raiding as it is more fairly described, was carried on primarily for individual economic gain and individual social prestige. It followed a code which made it more a sport, rough and bloody as it was, than a serious vicious combat for destruction. War among the Plains Indians is of especial concern to us, because with them it was the chief pursuit and means of a successful life, and because Plains Indians form a large proportion of the Indians with whom we have to deal today.

The social or cultural implications of warfare on the Plains must be considered from its motives and its rewards. The chief motive was the exhibition of bravery, the highest virtue a man could possess. The resulting reward was his glorification and the increased prestige that came from his own boasting or the praises of his people. Acts of bravery and the planning and leading of raids were the stepping stones to chieftainship. Evidence that bravery was the keynote of Plains warfare is found in the system of counting coup—a kind of scoring of war feats. This is also evidence that raids were conducted as a game, in which making a coup was to some degree the performing of a stunt. The highest honor went to a warrior who touched a living enemy by hand or weapon. Coups next in importance were for touching a fallen enemy, but were limited to the first four who reached him. Coups of lesser distinction were counted for snatching a weapon from an enemy's hands, and lastly, for stealing a tethered horse. In this system, the killing of an enemy or taking his scalp was of relative unimportance.

Slaughter reduced the enemy or was legitimate vengeance for previous killings of one's relatives or friends, but killing an enemy was not an act for which one was glorified in speeches or songs, and was not recalled as was the counting of coups. In fact, *great warriors and chiefs of Plains tribes were renowned for never having killed a man*, which argues against the bloodthirsty nature ascribed to Indian people. In carrying out raids or fighting battles, Indian war chiefs did not sacrifice their own party for strategic gains. However there was one notable exception to this lack of emphasis on killing and to the avoidance of death. In every tribe were individuals or a small group who vowed never to retreat, to rush among the enemy single handed, or to fight without weapons. As groups they were known among many tribes as the "Crazy Dogs." Their actions were motivated by a lust for fame, or an attempt to die gloriously in face of certain death expected from some cause other than war. However with many tribes these vows were held only for a season.

Blood and death brought a contamination which Indians feared. Even among the Plains tribes, where an eye for an eye was the practice that followed upon killing, a young man who killed his first enemy warrior had to be purified by a medicine man. Among such non-Plains tribes as the Pima, who lacked no courage in penetrating the mountain fastnesses of the Apache to check their predatory raids or punish attacks, the killing of an enemy required a subsequent sixteen days of fasting and tabu for purification. Killing had its price and penalties, which made it far from the first or sole aim of Indian warfare.

Scalping, which Whites look upon as one of the most frightful of Indian customs, was not reckoned in the coup system. Scalps were taken as trophies for a war dance, as a symbol of the enemy to deride, and as gifts to old people, but they were not the primary objects for which Indians fought, and by no means were they taken in all fights or by all Indian tribes.

The second basic motive for raids was economic gain. The Apache raided for the harvested crops of farming tribes. Raids among the Plains tribes were essentially for horses. The arrival of horses among them probably gave a tremendous impetus to raiding. Horses introduced by the Spanish in the south, were possessed by only a few tribes at first. Having such a great advantage in raiding "foot-Indians," the first owners were undoubtedly unwilling to trade or give away their horses. It was necessary therefore to capture them. Horses rapidly became the most prominent means of estimating wealth, and great ostentation was obtained by possession of large herds. Horses were also a type of currency for purchasing wives and were the most valued presents in "giveaways." Their great value for war, hunting, transportation and wealth led to continuous stealing of them in raids, which was sanctioned in the reward system. With this as a standard, more importance was given to the capture of a tethered horse, than to the capture of ten or more free-grazing ones.

These facts and the descriptions of Plains warfare, set forth in far greater detail in the very readable and competent studies of the Cheyenne by George Bird Grinnell, and of the Crow by Robert Lowie, give a very different aspect to Indian war and war psychology than is generally held. Because war was the road to the greatest achievements possible within their culture, personal equipment, education, religion, and the men's societies were necessarily supported by, and were integrated with war. When war was finally suppressed, the man's chief activity (with the exception of hunting), the goal of his education, and his means of access to chieftainship and individual success, disappeared. The motive of his clubs, the directions sought by every man in a vision quest, a major reason for the prayers and vows of the Sun Dance —in fact the very point of life itself, were all removed when war was banned. This regulation of but one phase of Indian life distorted other phases, still valuable and necessary in their life, or brought them tumbling down.

Of greatest concern to us, perhaps, is the removal of the old motive and goal of home and group training, or native education. Boys had been taught to ride and run fast, to shoot with bow and arrow at an early age. Their first toys were live horses and wild game. They competed in the skills that would make them good warriors, and counted coups on wild animals, until they were allowed an apprenticeship in war parties. This resulted in good physical training, discipline and direction into life pursuit. Even the more peaceful Pima and Papago trained their boys to be courageous warriors, to be ever on the alert for Apache raiders, to defend their homes and to attack the Apache when they became too threatening. When warfare was eliminated from Indian life the underlying purpose of all this education was destroyed. Parents soon became lax in disciplining and preparing their youngsters.

As women's lives were supplementary to men's and their activities and position were bound up to a great extent in the preparations for war and the celebrations of its achievements their training and life activities also suffered. Such virtues as generosity, wisdom, and proper respect of others according to their relationship, sex or age, continue to be held up to young people, but the heart has been taken out of preparing for life.

Viewed in this way it is not hard to understand that family training and discipline of children coming of age has become less effective, and that pre-delinquent and delinquent children have become a serious problem of Indian education. Neither White civilization nor its educational system offers anything which readily supplants the part played by warfare in Indian life. Change has been hard and will continue to be hard, as it always is for primitive people when they are suddenly forced to live in a civilized world, without preparation on either side.

Educators cannot supply new goals and new activities overnight, but they can try to understand the conflicts of their students and the difference in aims of the primitive and civilized life. Today's problem is how to teach the techniques that lead to successful living in their present situation to young Indians; and how to interpret and explain by concrete local situations the change that is taking place, to older children. Success can only come in time as educated Indians accept as valuable the social and economic activities and objectives of the new life themselves, as their ancestors valued the life of the past.—*Macgregor.*

8. THE GIVEAWAY

"INVEST in leisure for your old age," advertisements tell us. "Take out insurance for the college education of your children."

It is what most White Americans work and plan for. Since their ancestors fought for a living with the weather and the soil of the colonies and the frontier, thrift has been one of their solid virtues, and extravagance a fault. The man who threw his money away and then asked for help has had little sympathy from the self supporting citizen.

"It's only common sense," says the White American. "How else can self respecting people get along?"

Perhaps, then, he talks with an old time Sioux and hears of a plan of life which was just the opposite. He hears of a community where the ideal was, not to be independent but to give and, later, receive gifts; where hoarding was a real sin and extravagance a sensible means of disposing of wealth. Was this also "common sense?" and "the only way to get along?" Let us look at the circumstances which enforced it.

The Sioux of old had little use for wealth. They lived a wandering life where death in war and death from hunger were daily dangers. What they needed were brave men, willing to sacrifice themselves in defending the community, and generous men, willing to share food and goods with the tribe. So they admired, not those who kept—either life or wealth —but those who gave.

For their brave men, they had a system of war honors. On certain occasions they allowed, even required them, to recite their famous deeds and this was their reward, rather than any pay. For virtuous and industrious women, they had rewards similar to those of the men, but in their own field. The generous man did not recite his own deeds but he was praised by others and so highly did the community regard this praise, that men preferred it to wealth. We hear discussion in modern days as to whether the world could get along without money. Would people continue to work? A picture of an old Siouan community might help to answer this question.

In such a community, public praise was the goal of everyone, male and female, old and young. It was no false publicity, for there were penalties for exaggerating one's exploits even in the slightest degree. But to have one's praises sung through the camp was the aim of effort, much as it used to be for knights in old Europe. Fathers desired it for their children just as, in a money civilization, they would want them to have wealth and comfort. But a Siouan father paid out his surplus wealth to get his child honor.

That was the function of the Giveaway. It was a distribution of gifts, performed at every crisis of a person's life to gain him an honorable standing or to ensure recognition for the standing already gained. Thus a father would have his son named by a famous warrior and distribute gifts so that the boy would start his career with good augury. When the boy killed his first buffalo calf, there would be more gifts and honor for his deed. So with his first war party and his first scalp. And a daughter might be honored with an elk tooth dress and a sermon on virtue. This was not a mere conceited boasting, for the people so honored were expected afterward to be particularly modest and devoted to the public welfare. It was a way of rewarding their achievement and of keeping the whole community in mind of the ideals to be striven for.

Even if a man had no special hero to honor, he could gain public esteem by giving a feast and making gifts. Sometimes he disposed of his whole surplus in this way. It was the Siouan substitute for organized charity. And the public benefactor who made it possible was highly honored. "He was not afraid of poverty," said the Omaha, a Siouan speaking tribe, "and that is almost as great as not being afraid of the enemy." Particularly the peace chief who did not go to war, but was the shepherd and adviser of his people, was expected to be generous. Whites give great praise to the politician who leaves office a poor man, but the Siouan chief who was not poor would be suspect.

As a result of such ideals, every one gave, and no one was uncared for. It was a system of mutual support, not by dues and taxes but by constant giving, from the richer to the poorer. The person who gave instead of squandering, was investing in the goodwill of the tribe so that he in turn would receive gifts. And, with every giving, the praises of the desirable citizens were sung and the Siouan ideals emphasized.

What happens when a Sioux is asked to give up this system? White Americans might feel his attitude more vividly it they remember what happened after the depression when it appeared that their own ideal of saving was to go into the discard.

"What's the use of working and leading an honorable life if all the results are going to be taken away from you!"

"We might better throw everything away and have a good time while we can."

Those who voiced these bewildered outcries had based their whole lives on a system of *saving*. They were bankrupt not only in money but in security, hope, a sense of the value of effort. The whole country, since then, has been concerned with working out some new economic arrangement which will fit the present circumstances and give back security to the workers. The Sioux, whose life was based on giving, have also found that their system no longer fits the circumstances. They are passing through a period of emotional insecurity. They, too, need time and thought for finding a new arrangement, which will fit the new pattern of life.—*Underhill*.

9. GENEROSITY OUTMODED

AMONG the Amerinds of our plains and woodlands there were, we are told, two outstanding virtues, bravery and generosity. Bravery was necessary to preserve the life of the individual, in battle with the enemy, or in personal quarrels within the tribe. Bravery was necessary to preserve the existence of the tribe in the hunt, and on the long march of its nomadic existence. The brave man communed with the Great Spirit during periods of fasting and self denial and thereby won leadership and recognition from his fellows. In communities in which there was a division of labor and the hunting braves killed for the whole tribe, it was only natural that the generous hunter should be admired and respected, when he shared his kill with those who had none and yet who labored for the tribe.

In an attempt to describe or even understand this attribute of generosity which characterizes most of our Indian tribes, some in more extreme form than others, the White man suffers the serious difficulty of belonging to a culture pattern which rejects the Indians' ideal as fundamentally impractical. Whites do feel concern for their associates, and in periods of national or international calamity are willing to give of their substance to relieve the suffering of others. They have, nevertheless, been brought up to believe that charity begins at home and that if they don't look out for themselves, no one else will.

There are indications that this individuality of attitude is increasing in modern life. The old family composed of its mutually interdependent elements, such as the Whiteoaks of Jalna, so vividly described by Mazo de la Roche in her recent series of novels, is fast disappearing from American life. The United States is becoming a nation of small-family apartment dwellers who have broken away from relatives and dependents. It is therefore extremely hard for Americans to understand the Chinese upon whom all of his kin have a just claim, or the American Indian whose acceptance and toleration by his tribe is measured by his observance of this tradition-old practice of sharing with his relatives down to his last crumb.

Two mutually irreconcilable points of view are joined in struggle. It is all very well for teachers and leaders in Indian schools to tell Indian young people that their success in competition with their White brothers in this country depends on looking out for themselves. Looking at the complicated economic system around them our Indian young people may believe us when we tell them that it is a case of each man for himself, and devil take the hindmost. But if he is to return and live among his people, as 90 per cent of our young Indians do and must, an Indian youth can't ignore his relatives and live like a White man, without inviting the ostracism of his own race.

Repeatedly Indian young people graduating from schools have been established as successful farmers. They have begun to enjoy the well-won fruits of labor with crops or live-stock, only to find their success an invitation to their less fortunate relatives to join in eating them out of house and home. It is an unusually courageous and able young married couple who can continue to attack with ambition and enthusiasm the job of making a living, when continually deprived of the satisfactions of success.

In this matter it is not the young people to whom we must appeal. They may be the ones who must ultimately base their success upon a change in tribal attitudes, but the change must begin in the thinking of their elders. Those who thoughtlessly condemn the Indian parents or older relatives for moving in to live off the successful youngsters, frequently fail to recognize both the strength of custom and the desperate economic need of many of the relatives. Being themselves without capacity for self-support these older relatives naturally but thoughtlessly turn to their more successful younger relations. They must either do that or depend on government support. After the security of the young people has also been destroyed, there is still the government.

Indian parents are just as much concerned with the success of their children as any White mother or father. They are prepared to sacrifice just as much, their love is just as deep, their ambitions just as high. In this complicated transition of youth from the culture of the tribe, to an environment surrounded at every hand with the White pattern of individual success, we must turn directly to the older Indians for help. It is not a change which can be ordered or directed. It is not something which their White friends can decide for them.

The issue, however, is clear. It should be defined and discussed in realistic terms. If Indian young people are to succeed in adjusting themselves to economic self-support in the United States, which is theirs as much as it is the White man's, they must be free to face the problem of making their own living in competition with those about them. If the older Indians must continue in dependency, let it be upon the federal government. Let them claim their ration of food and clothing, and let the government give it to them. But older Indians and the government alike owe it to Indian youth that they be permitted to enter upon their task of winning economic self-support in a new world, without the handicaps of indigent elders and outworn traditions dragging them down to failure.

It must be repeated that this desired objective only can come about through understanding on the part of the older Indians and their willing acceptance of the new order. It cannot rest upon young people, and it cannot be brought about through governmental orders. Yet upon a solution of this problem rests the economic success of countless Indian young people today in public and government schools, who must soon undertake to earn their own way.

10. THERE ARE NO ORPHANS

TO STATE that there are no orphans among Indian tribes is a seeming contradiction of fact, yet a search among Indians and in Indian-language dictionaries reveals no word for orphan. "Orphan" is a social classification of White civilization and has brought many complications and tragedies to Indian groups.

Because social phenomena and institutions exist in White culture, we assume they must exist in other cultures. To White ways of thinking a child who has lost his or her parents and whose relatives are poor is a child in need of special care by some agency or institution. Some such thinking must have directed the development of Indian boarding schools into semi-orphanages. Such thinking is still reflected in the work of many of those responsible for arranging the care for homeless children, in spite of the fact that the policy has been for some years that a child should be enrolled in an elementary boarding school only if no suitable arrangements could be made for him to live with a relative or in a foster home.

If in determining eligibility for boarding school enrollment or boarding home care it is assumed that "orphans" need our special consideration—and if in many tribes there are no "orphans" in our sense of the word, it is time we re-examined our criteria.

Let us look at the original scene where there were no orphans. To be sure, many Indian children lost one or both biological parents in many tribes, but in every tribe there was some social mechanism to take care of such cases without burdening society in general, or isolating the child from home life. One familiar with Indian life cannot conceive of the tribal fathers sitting down to discuss the pros and cons of a primative orphan asylum or the need for boarding homes. In fact no such idea ever entered their minds. Primitive visitors to our civilized cities have often commented upon our orphan asylums as strongly disproving our vaunted superiority. They ask, "How could relatives or society in general love children so little as to let them be cared for by the public in such barren and loveless places?"

Parentless Indian children were cared for by their family or kinship group. Relatives formed a closely-knit group with mutual bonds of affection, loyalty and responsibility. The kind of relationship that a child felt for these elders and that elders felt for the child, is expressed in the terminology for kinsfolk. For instance among the Omaha, as well as among many other tribes, "I, a child, call all men my father, who are my father's brothers." "Father's brothers" include many men whom we in White life call first, second, third, or even fourth cousins. "I, a child, also call all women mother, whom my mother calls sister, aunts, or nieces." In such a system a child was rarely at a loss for parents to substitute for lost ones. Although Indians used the terms "father" and "mother" widely, they always could differentiate between what anthropologists call physiological and sociological parents.

In tribes, such as the Navaho, where the clan is a strong social institution, care of children is one of its responsibilities and functions. Parentless children are taken in by close relatives here also, but only by relatives of their own clan. Among the Navaho, Zuni, or Hopi, these would be the mother's relatives.

At the death of parents, children were immediately taken into the families of grandparents or aunts or uncles. It was less difficult than among White children, for the Indian children could say of his adoptive parents, "These are my father and my mother," and of the children in the family, "These are my brothers and sisters," for in a very real sense he had always thought of them in that way. It was more natural for the child too, for in Indian societies it was frequently customary for children to be sent or given to grandparents or childless relatives. They were never formally "adopted," as Whites think of the term. Adoption was reserved for making outsiders members of the tribe. Since the introduction of individual "property," subject to inheritance, it has been necessary to formalize Indian adoption, which has been done by a recent act of Congress (July 8,1940).

In a great many tribes, it was the obligation of a widower to marry his wife's sister, and for a widow to marry her husband's brother. In fact, it was often the practice in tribes where plural marriages were observed, for a man to marry his wife's sister or sisters. In such systems, children who had lost a parent continued to be cared for in their own homes by a secondary parent already there.

Although laws and customs have weakened some family responsibilities, the strength of the Indian family ties and the precedent for responsibility for one's relatives still flourishes in most Indian areas.

Indian "adoption" is still widely practiced and in some of the less acculturated tribes of the Southwest, "orphans" are absorbed by related families without difficulty. Family solidarity and responsibility have suffered far less from contact with White civilization than have most of the old economic practices and the manufacture of Indian articles and tools. Family and kinship bonds still provide the greatest security for the individual and a basis on which orphan children can be cared for without resorting to Government institutions and removal from Indian home life.

The original acceptance of Indian orphans as children in need, was coupled with the early policy of bundling the children off to be educated in the White man's way. Orphans were sacrificed by the Indians, in the system of forced enrollment, as a lesser evil than sending one's own children. There were usually economic considerations behind this too. At the time of early boarding schools, Indians were poverty stricken and could no longer provide for themselves. Additional children in the family became a real hardship, when the family was completely dependent on rations and clothing from the Government. Perhaps letting the orphan children go to school then was a kindness. It has since become a habit amang many Indian groups as a way to relieve economic hardship, and it has been encouraged by Government officials without considering the complete welfare of the child. It continues as a habit today, and from an assumption of necessity.

Because of the dependence that has been built up among many Indian groups and our well-entrenched system, no right-about-face in the handling of all orphans, by placing all of them with tribesmen, is to be considered. Furthermore, true orphans do exist in many Indian groups today—a fact probably already troubling the reader's mind. In badly disorganized and impoverished groups that border the towns of Wisconsin or California, or in the almost abandoned coal-mining settlements of Oklahoma, Indian society no longer functions to take care of orphan children. Furthermore, environmental conditions are sometimes such that an institutional or distant boarding home placement appears to be the wiser action. As in nearly all our present-day Indian administration, local conditions must dictate many of our decisions.

This refers, however, to the great majority of Indian reservations, where much of the native Indian social system still functions, where the family organization, the kinship and blood ties are still strong, even though the native economy, dress, and housing have long since vanished. Social workers, education field agents, superintendents, and others who feel responsibility for caring for half or full orphans, should realize that there is a recognized place in Indian homes for these children. Our solution to their placement has been too frequently—off to the boarding school. The boarding school for all its advantages, is not a home, cannot straighten out the personality problems that these parentless children often have, and does not adjust a child to the environment to which he in nine chances out of ten will later return. There are orphans working at a boarding school today who have lived in that environment so long that they cannot make the break and return to the home reservation. Neither are they prepared to enter a White town. For younger children it is especially important that they continue their early life in a home.

It is strongly recommended that the workers charged with these cases learn the native system for handling them, and try to reenforce and encourage it by finding homes with relatives for children who have no parents to care for or support them. Information regarding tribal customs in such matters may be secured from the older leaders of Indian communities or often from anthropological reports of the culture group. It would be well to take this problem before a group of parents or older men and women of the community before determining arbitrarily on a solution. The matter of pay will undoubtedly arise, and should be avoided, unless it be most urgent, lest it become the motive for accepting the children.

It is good to attack the problem before the summer round-up of boarding school candidates occurs. The function of the boarding schools should be primarily for practical vocational training of older children and not for social welfare. Let us also learn the responsibilities and interests of home communities before we feel it necessary or desirable to send orphans and "social cases" from the undesirable environment of towns to the unnatural environment of an institution. We should be more interested in leading children into the good environment of their own people and their own surroundings, than just providing temporary escape from a bad environment. If an environment is bad, efforts should be made to improve it. No permanent good can be accomplished merely by removing temporarily a few younger children.

The frequently unfortunate effects of change from Indian family life among the Papago, for example, to the White institutional life of a nonreservation school, from quiet country to nervous city, from plains to forested mountains, from Arctic Alaska to foreign Idaho, should be apparent to any thinking person.

—*Macgregor*

11. OUR HEATHEN FESTIVALS

THE Indians have so many superstitions! Do the numbers of people who make this remark, even in the Indian Service, ever think of the mass of tangled superstitions and of heathen practices embedded in our own life and even in the Christian religion? This is not to say that we need be ashamed of such beliefs, any more than the Indians need be ashamed of the poetic ceremonies which they have worked out through centuries of human longing. All peoples have worked out such ceremonies, to honor some season of the year which was important in their lives as hunters or as farmers. They have glorified some object or some incident that symbolized life as they wished it would be. Finally the season and the glorification developed into a ceremony.

Our White ancestors in the British Isles, in Scandinavia and in Germany, had many such ceremonies before they became Christian. The Greeks and Romans had others. The Fathers of the early Christian church, slowly welding their practices into a systematic whole, could not sweep away these pagan holidays. They did not try. Instead, they placed a Christian celebration at the same date. The practices of Christians and of Pagans for that occasion became fused, so that we, ourselves, often cannot disentangle them.

Easter, for instance,—do we know why the store windows—and perhaps the schoolrooms of the Indian Service—are full of rabbits and of eggs? It is not primarily because this is the date of Christ's resurrection. True, the rabbit is a symbol of plentiful life, but if this were purely a Christian festival we might have chosen something more dignified. The truth is that Easter is an ancient heathen festival named after the Anglo-Saxon goddess of spring: Eostre. Her month was April, when new life begins in plants and animals, and when, in England, birds came from their eggs and rabbits had their young. Then human beings, too, made prayers for new life.

At this same time, down in the Near-East, the Hebrews were celebrating the spring season for an entirely different reason. Centuries before, when they had been taken to captivity in Egypt, their God had smitten the Egyptians with a plague. When the angel of death passed through the streets the Children of Israel had marked their houses, so that he passed them by. So, ever afterward, they had celebrated the festival of the Passover at the season of the Great Plague.

The early Christians, when they began their worship, had no holidays at all. The New Testament says nothing about celebrating any special day, not even Sunday. "The whole of time is a festival unto Christians," said Saint Chrysostem, "because of the excellency of the good things which have been given." Yet people who wish to meet together must set some day and the early Christians, in Syria, home of the Hebrews, where the church began, naturally took some of the Hebrew holy days, turning them to their own uses.

The Feast of the Passover was one which the early Christians identified with the risen Christ, and many European countries still call it by a derivative from that name, like the French Paques and the Spanish Pascua. As Christianity moved up into the heathen countries of the north, it found Teutons and Anglo-Saxons who had never heard of the Passover. But they were welcoming the goddess of spring at the full moon of the Equinox, when the long winter nights were over and days and nights were again of equal length. The Christian missionaries to these heathen allowed them to incorporate some of their old practices with the new celebration of the rising of the Redeemer.

Those feasts of the ancient Nordics were not unlike the spring Powamu festival of the Hopi, when bean plants are grown in the kivas, amid prayers for fertility. Every pueblo made such prayers at some time during the year, asking that plants, animals and men should multiply. So did many other corn growing Amerinds. Others had ceremonies to multiply the animals, and the Pawnee, in their Hako, worked especially for the birth of children in the tribe.

Some of those Indian ceremonies have become mixed with Christian rites, just as our own ceremonies were mixed a thousand years or so earlier. White people who see the saint's image brought out to watch a Pueblo corn dance have no cause to smile. The saint and the corn are two symbols of human hope, both grown dear by long usage. Whites and Indians both have colored their Christianity with memories from a pagan past.

—Underhill

12. WHITES AREN'T SO FAR AHEAD

DR. THOMAS BRIGGS of Teachers College, Columbia University, once defined the chief function of the public school as that of "teaching people to do better the desirable things that they are likely to do anyway." This definition has particular pertinence to the schools of the Indian Service. The possibility of effecting any tremendous and immediate transformation in the way of life of a people through education is remote. Drastic modification in environment, brought about by natural changes such as droughts or floods or by the destructive attacks of enemies, may force serious changes within a brief period and bring about great social and emotional maladjustment and along with it, physical and mental suffering. Education, however, proceeds more slowly, and to be most effective, works its changes with the consent and cooperation of the individuals affected.

To bring about step by step the gradual improvements in health, sanitation, economic well-being and intellectual growth, which in culmination we are wont to describe as "civilization," requires first of all a clear and sympathetic understanding of the status of the individuals within a group in regard to each of these social factors. Lacking this knowledge, it is easy to over or underestimate the logical and desirable "next step" in their development.

One of the easiest mistakes a teacher or other leader can make is that of identifying those whom he is trying to influence with himself or with the thing he aspires to be, not recognizing that others may be at a state of development which he himself or his own "social group" occupied at an earlier date.

An outstanding phenomenon of western civilization is the progressive acceleration of modern cultural change. It is difficult for many of us to realize that the slaves of George Washington's plantation plowed with the same kind of crooked stick that was used by the Aztecs or the early Egyptians. The modern metal plow was invented less than two hundred years ago. The doctor who attended Washington during his fatal illness had little more scientific knowledge of medicine and disease than a modern Navaho medicine man. He bled his patient to remove the evil "humours" in his blood when the patient was suffering from pneumonia. As a result, Washington died. The level of "superior culture," from which many Whites look down on the benighted Indian, is in many ways of very recent origin. It may aid us in achieving that degree of spiritual humility which is prerequisite to fundamental helpfulness between teacher and pupil, leader and follower, to review the material improvements which have taken place in our own life span and within our own personal experience.

The faculty of an Indian Service high school in a western state undertook such a canvass recently. It was a matter of genuine surprise to a majority to realize how recently the commonly accepted "standards of living" had come to the members of the group, the oldest of whom was probably in the early sixties and the youngest a little past twenty.

The question which these people asked themselves was "How many of the commonly accepted conveniences of modern living were lacking from the home where I was born?" In an hour's exploration of that question, the following are a few of the material conveniences which were listed, many of which are today superseded by still more up-to-date inventions:

Water piped into the houses; hot and cold running water; bath tub with connected waste; built in shower bath; flush toilet; chlorination of domestic water; sewage disposal; coal stoves for cooking; enamel sink and drain board; gas for cooking and lighting; welsbach burners; coal oil lamps; gasoline lamps; electricity for lighting; electricity for cooking; hot air heating; hot water or steam heating; ice box; electric refrigerator; horse and buggy; bicycles; automobiles; milk delivered to house; mail delivery; call and deliver laundry; mechanical washing machines; twin beds; electric ironing devices; pressure cookers; dental and medical facilities; hospital facilities; electric fans; white sugar; watches, clocks; brooms, brushes; sewing machines; ready made wearing apparel; fountain pens; plastered walls; wall paper; telephone; radio.

Check the list in relation to yourself, or, better still, make it the subject of a group discussion in your own agency or school and find what your group adds to it. After you find your own group score, compare the conditions of your composite youth with those of the Indian community with which you are working. It is ventured that the advancement of the employee community over the Indian is barely more than the span of years represented by the membership of the employee group. In the light of these facts, assuming that the Service-wide average will be not far different from the record of one school, we should be impressed with the potentialities for improvement and be humbly willing to contribute to its step by step progress. Few of us have jumped from a horse and buggy to an airplane, but have taken a number of intermediate steps. There are today more Whites in this country without bathtubs or medical service, who have never seen an automobile or heard a radio, than there are Indians alive in the Nation. Advancement is relative to opportunity, it is not a matter of race, and the rapidity of social adjustments which have been made by any group has been pretty directly related to apparent advantages to be gained by the change and the opportunity to make it. For example, hot and cold running water, bathtubs and showers, and flush toilets have been dependent upon the development of a plentiful and convenient supply of water. Lighting or cooking with gas or electricity has had to wait on the quantity and cheapness of the available supply.

The attack on typhoid fever, dysentery and other filth diseases has depended upon the establishment of a clear line of connection between the source of infection and the patient. The development of effective means for controlling the spread of a disease had to wait on recognition of its source.

In all of these things, the White race has been, in many regions, more fortunate than the Indian. Yet the extent to which Whites are profiting from their own potential knowledge and skill is far from universal.

13. THE ADAPTABLE INDIAN

"YOU can't change an Indian." "Indians don't like new ideas."

These are statements made all over the Indian country, by people who feel they speak from experience. But what kind of experience is it? Does it cover all aspects of Indian life, or does it refer, for instance, to certain features of White civilization such as painting the house, wearing short hair or keeping accounts? These customs the White man considers useful, while many Indians, in view of their own circumstances, have never agreed. But history is full of instances in which the Indian, finding something which he did consider useful, has adopted it, without any teaching at all.

Take his most valuable possession, Indian corn. It was raised in the beginning, say the students, in just one part of America. They are not yet sure which part it was but they know that the continent, all around it, was filled with Indians of different languages, different physique and different customs. Yet all of them learned about corn. When the Whites came, they found it growing as far north as Canada and in all varieties of soil and climate. The people who were not growing corn either could not, or did not need it.

In the same way, the tribes had passed the news about pottery, various kinds of basketry, weapons, clothing, government, ceremonies. It has become a commonplace to say that Amerinds in any one part of the country, no matter how different their language, will have very much the same customs. They have learned from each other.

We cannot measure the time required for these various learnings to spread, but one piece of adaptation went on under the very eyes of the Whites. That was the use of the horse. Half the White population of America pictures an Indian as someone who leans from a galloping horse to shoot buffalo, yet the modern horse was unknown in America before 1539. It is true some version of a horse once lived on the continent but he was extinct thousands of years ago. Early Indians carried burdens on their own backs or had them dragged by dogs and they fought or hunted buffalo on foot. When the armies of De Soto and Coronado and their successors marched through the south of our present United States, the soldiers lost their horses, traded them or, as hostility developed, had them stolen. Soon there were herds of wild horses in the Southwest and the Indians saw something that they needed.

By 1682, not 150 years after Coronado, the Kiowa and Missouri Indians were mounted; by 1700 the Pawnee and by 1714 the Comanche. From tribe to tribe the knowledge of the horse passed north, without a White man to carry the news. The Indians fought each other to obtain horses and so the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Assiniboine became "horse Indians." In 1784 when explorers met the Sarsi, the northernmost of the Plains tribes, they found them mounted. So used were they to horses and so perfectly adapted, that the pioneers thought the Plains Indians had been riding always.

With their horses, the Indians needed

bridles, saddles, stirrups and, sometimes, plows. Most of them had not even seen these conveniences but word of how they looked was passed from tribe to tribe and the Indians invented their own. Museums have an amazing variety of wooden saddles and stirrups, plows made of a tree root, bridles of hair rope—all contrived by Amerindians without any teacher. The new animal induced some tribes to change their whole way of life. The Navaho and Apache spread through the Southwest; the Sioux and others spread over the Plains. The Cheyenne even remember when they left their villages and took to buffalo hunting.

Guns spread almost as fast, though they received a push from the Whites for selfish purposes. The fighting Iroquois traded their furs for guns as fast as they could and it was because of firearms that they could subdue the neutrals and Hurons and be lords of the Great Lakes. Indians of the Southwest, in telling of their tribal history will say: "That was before we got guns." There is no question about that. As soon as they knew of this aid to their hunting and fighting, they got it.

Now a more peaceful example. The Navaho came to the Southwest between 1000 and 1500 A. D., probably nearer the latter date. They were then a wandering tribe of hunters, dressed in skins and cedar bark. No one gave sheep to the fierce nomads but by 1785 they had them. By 1795 they were "weaving wool with much taste." By 1812, their blankets were "the most valuable in New Spain" and by 1875 the surprised Americans found them doing a big commercial business in textiles. No one had set out to teach the Navaho, but they saw something they wanted and learned it. So with their silverwork. Learned from Spanish silversmiths, some time in the early eighteen hundreds, it is now one of the outstanding arts of the Southwest.

Indians, then, have given plenty of proof that they are willing to learn when they see something they want. They need time to be convinced of the fact, for even the useful horse took two hundred years to spread through the Plains. But consider how slow is the spread of central heating through England! It takes time to alter a whole system of living, even for cause. The problem for Indians and for Whites concerned in Indian education, is to find what elements of White teaching will be really useful to an Indian group, not a burden. When its fitness is demonstrated, the Indians themselves will move to learn it.—*Underhill.*

14. INDIANS WILL WORK

ONE frequently hears the American Indian accused of being lazy, shiftless, and incompetent. To prove this there are pointed out the Indians who adorn the agency areas gracefully doing nothing, but coming back for rations and other charity. There is no denying that many modern Indians have often found life pointless and without purpose, and as a result many of them doubtless have accepted the line of least resistance and made little or no effort. However, we have no justification for assuming that this is a response peculiar to the Amerindian. Each race of people defines its reasons for living. Behavior which earns honor or deserves disgrace, the place of men and women, and the assignment of labor to each, are matters determined by the social pattern of the group

In one culture it is the men who weave and make pottery and the women who watch the sheep and the goats. In another culture all of these duties fall to the lot of women, and the man hunts, fishes, defends the fireside, and in other ways fulfills his family obligations. In one culture thrift is an accepted objective and personal and public approbation attends the thriftiest man. In another culture generosity outweighs thrift, and goods are accumulated only to be completely dispersed through gift giving.

In the evolution of western civilization we have seen knighthood and war the objective of strong young manhood, while learning and trade were looked down upon. Almost imperceptibly the values have changed until culture and business success now win approbation, and soldierly service takes a secondary place in our ambitions.

It is not always possible to determine why these values become what they are at any one time, but that they are controlling values molding the ambition of young people may be clearly established. Our own country in rather rapid succession has seen the guiding ambition of young college men shift from law to medicine, to engineering, and then to stockbroking, without any clearcut reason for the change.

Our literature is full of stories of youths who have suffered seriously from the frustration of being directed by domineering parents into lines of activity which had ceased to allure the imagination of youth. Shifts in objectives occur so imperceptibly in our own culture that we are only dimly conscious of the changes, but after they have occurred, it is exceedingly difficult for us to reconstruct the thinking of a past age in such matters. The minds of modern boys are captured by the romance of science which has opened vast fields of endeavor totally unknown to their ancestors, and by that token they would find it difficult to develop enthusiasm about training for some of the jobs which were admired a generation or two ago.

Is it possible then, that the American Indian finds those values which appeal to the White man as challenging, to be pointless in the light of his previous culture patterns? If the Indian really could not work as hard as the White, his economic out look would be serious. But every one in the Indian Service knows that Indians can and do work, with amazing concentration. But not always. Educators, then, since they are training Indians for future work, should ask first of all: "What do Indians work at? And why?"

Let us go back for a moment to the times when Indians planned their own work, without advice or influence from the Whites. We might visit a camp of Algonkins in New England. Late autumn has come and the men start on the winter hunt. They go off into the north woods almost without shelter and without provisions. For months, they will walk from fifteen to thirty miles a day or paddle more. They will spend a goodly number of days without food and nights without sleep. They will carry carcasses on their backs weighing a hundred pounds or so and, on all their return trip, will be weighted down with pelts. Hard work! But it is necessary and valuable and, what is more, the Indians were convinced of the fact.

Now look at a village of the agricultural Pima or Papago. Each man has his field outside the village, sometimes five miles away. He goes to it every morning and he is never so lazy as to walk: he runs. All day he is busy with a pointed stick or a slab of wood sharpened along one edge which are his spade and his hoe. If it rains, he must stay in the fields night and day, keeping the ditches clear. If the primitive dam breaks, all the villagers must gather to repair it and any one who shirks is fined.

Zuni farmers work as hard, and they bring luck to their labors by a costumed dance which is work as well as ceremony. Thirty or more men are in line, and for half an hour at a time, they keep up a quick prancing step which would leave the average person out of breath in a few moments. They continue it, at intervals, from sunrise to sunset. Yet no one complains of the labor of a ceremonial dance. Rather he considers it a privilege to take part in it.

Now watch a California Mission woman preparing acorns. She gathers them from the trees; she cracks them on a rock and dries the meats for days. Then she pounds them in a rock hollow, with a stone pestle, washes the flour and washes it again to remove the bitter tannin, adds water and, finally, cooks the mixture in a basket by the slow method of heating stones and placing them in the mush until it boils. The whole procedure may take a week. Yet acorn mush was the staple food of the Mission Indians and a woman expected to spend most of her life time on such a job.

One could go on with these examples of the grueling hard work done by Indians in former days. Has such work ceased? The answer is that, where to the Indian himself it seems fitting and valuable, it goes on as before. Pueblo Indians still dance: Papago still work their fields, though with better tools. But the New England Indians no longer have a winter hunt, because it is no longer necessary. And Mission women prepare acorn mush mostly for ceremonies.

What have they done with the energy which used to go into these tasks? White workers sometimes expect to see it channelled easily into school carpentry work, house decoration, labor on community "improvements," or paid labor of any kind into which a young Indian may fall, with or without hope of advancement. But the driving power of the old task came from a conviction of its value in the Indians' own minds. Modern work for the modern Indian must be equally pertinent to command his enthusiasm. For the teacher to think it useful is only half the battle. The pupil must think it useful too.

One well loved teacher had a group of Indians so loyal that they did not wish to leave any of her community classes unattended. When she offered a course like weaving, at which that particular community did not feel they could make a profit, they attended listlessly and worked the minimum. When she offered quilting which they could use, or canning, which they needed, the same Indians worked double time.

The Indian wants, as the White man does, to know that what he is doing is of some use. But the use may be of various kinds. He may feel, like the farmer or the housewife, that he is producing something of actual value in the life he is living. Or he may have the office workers' desired stimulus: an interesting job, with hopes of getting to the top. Or, like the business man or the politician, he may take satisfaction in planning and directing a project of his own. White men who have none of these stimuli are frequently loafers. Indians may not see any reason for labor, either, and loaf too.

It is the problem of the Indian Service

to know its communities well enough so that the work proposed will be of real—not apparent—use. And if an Indian is to be urged into paid work, we should see that he has some chance at the advancement and responsibility which give paid work its stimulus. The energy of the Indian worker is likely to be in direct ratio to his interest in the job and his conviction of its worth to *him.—Beatty and Underhill.*

15. PRETTY GOOD, FOR AN INDIAN

NO PHRASE betrays more completely an attitude of White superiority and fundamental hopelessness about Indians, than the commonly heard comment, that something is "pretty good, for an Indian." Be it a piece of craftwork, the building of a house, a painting, or the carrying out of a responsible task, a thing which is only "pretty good" is relatively worthless. If we add to this condemnation, the further reservation that it is above the expected performance of Indians, we have indeed damned the Indians.

The facts of the matter are, of course, that the Indians' best is frequently beyond the Whites' skill to imitate. The beadwork on buckskin of the Sioux, which is carefully applied by stitches within the skin, that don't show through to the under side when done by a mastercraftswoman, cannot be exceeded in uniformity and beauty. The Washoe woven basket is only one of many which are marvels of skill and artistry that defy imitation. In a thousand ways, and with the *greatly inferior tools* of a primitive environment, the Amerind has demonstrated unexcelled skills, many which, under the impact of White culture, have been given up and replaced by inferior products produced by White men with machinery.

Where their training has been adequate, Indians are today driving caterpillar tractors, maintaining complicated road machinery, repairing automotive equipment, making intricate airplane parts, cutting and laying stone, designing and sewing clothes, and doing dozens of other things as well as Whites. True, not a sufficiently large proportion of Indians demonstrate such skills today. Frequently their training is at fault; many times the teachers in our Indian schools, expecting little, are satisfied with much less than their students are capable of producing. At other times expecting too much at first, and not recognizing that Indian children do not have a background similar to their own, teachers of Indians become discouraged, and begin to lower their standards of ultimate achievement. And in many other cases, the objectives which we assume to be adequate reason for the expenditure of energy, are meaningless to Indians in the light of their racial inheritance.

The White tourist who buys a shoddy bowl, a poorly made basket, a badly carved and painted totem pole, a cheap partially machinemade bracelet, or a poorly woven rug, just because it has been made by an Indian and is *cheap,* is undermining the sense of craftsmanship which was inherent in the Indian who first made his products for his own or for ceremonial use. Teachers in Indian schools who expose for sale the unskilled craftsmanship of inexperienced Indian children are also contributing to this breakdown in standards of craftsmanship.

The medieval White craftsman served an apprenticeship of years, during which time he performed the lesser and cruder operations, before he was found worthy to make and finish an object by himself. When that time came, he was ready to became a journeyman, in which capacity he practiced his trade for another span of years, before becoming qualified as a master craftsman, who in turn might undertake the training of apprentices.

Something of this oldtime emphasis on the acquisition of skills through continuous and careful practice of these skills on objects, many of which will have no commercial value and should be used at home or destroyed after making, is needed in training our Indian young people. For the present, our schools should place less emphasis upon the academic and the theoretical, and provide more opportunity for the practice of necessary manual skills.

A survey of Indian economic conditions on ten allotted reservations of five western states, in which thirty-five thousand case studies were made by the Indian Service several years ago, revealed that the average cash income of each individual was a little less than forty-eight dollars a year. Faced with such conditions, we cannot indulge in sentimentality in planning the educational program of our Indian schools. Our first question must be: What can we train this Indian boy or girl to do, which will produce capacity for selfsupport, or a cash income? In some parts of the country we must recognize that prejudices exist which close certain avenues of activity to Indians. In many cases, we may help remove these barriers by increasing the skill with which our Indian graduates perform their tasks, Despite prejudices, people are inclined to buy that which is better, whether it be a product or a service, if it compares favorably in price. In all cases, such perfection of skill must be obtained from frequent practical repetition to the activity.

Our Indian farmers-to-be must be given the opportunity to farm for several years under practical conditions, and with as little adult interference as possible, -while still enrolled in our schools. To this end, our agricultural schools are utilizing to the full (as rapidly as possible) the school reserves of farm land. At other schools additional land is being leased, and in still others the purchase of additional land is proposed.

Potential Indian cattlemen must be given similar experiences to the end that they are graduated because they have carried a man's responsibility successfully, in dealing with cattle. Boys and girls interested in poultry raising must care for practical flocks of chickens, and produce a result which will improve the family larder or the family income. Weavers must be encouraged to produce continuously, yards and yards of material; pottery makers must make and fire hundreds of individual pieces; carpenters and bricklayers must build actual houses, and not toy models. And in the doing of these things, we must expect, as an end result, a degree of skill and assurance that will enable these students to compete effectively in the labor market of their area, at graduation.

What shall we teach? That would appear to be a matter to be determined by the vocational possibilities of a given area. Fiji Islanders might easily be taught stenography and typewriting, but there would be little home market for these skills after they were learned. An analysis of the vocational training results of one of our schools through a study of more than a hundred graduates selected at random from the graduating classes of the last ten years showed that certain types of training had failed to equip these students for economic self-sufficiency. For several reasons, there just weren't openings for Indian boys with certain skills in that area. It is a fair conclusion that these shops had best be closed, and other skills taught which bear a more direct relationship to opportunities for employment.

These statements are not to be interpreted as indicating that the teaching of English, or social studies, or some phases of mathematics, or art, or science should be stopped. But we must face the necessity of reorganizing our teaching of these subjects in terms of very practical needs.

But in all of our Indian school teaching, we must do what we do so thoroughly and well; we must offer such complete opportunity for continuing practical experience, that the work of our students will be "well-done"—regardless of race. And if we are to be fair to the Indian, we must disabuse ourselves of the notion that he is in any fundamental sense, inferior.

16. FOR "ITALIAN" READ "INDIAN"

A NEW journal, "Applied Anthropology," made its public bow at the end of 1941. It carried an interesting article on the role of the settlement house in urban areas which contained an analysis of why the settlement house in a foreign language part of the community was not wholly successful. Several paragraphs paraphrase so closely the reason why many missionary efforts in Indian areas and many governmental efforts for Indians fail, that they appear worthy of quotation:

"The social worker's conception of his functions was quite evident. He thought in terms of a one-way adaptation. Although in relation to the background of the community the settlement was an alien institution, nevertheless, the community was expected to adapt itself to the standards of the settlement house. Some people made this adaptation; most people did not.

"The settlement does not belong to the district. It is run by people who are socially superior and who look down upon Cornerville people. It caters to a select group of people who are encouraged to consider themselves superior to their fellow inhabitants of Cornerville. It favors those who are willing to accept the middle class standards of the social workers, and discriminates against those who refuse to be disloyal to the standards of Cornerville society. . . .

"We can conceive the primary function of the settlement house in terms of social mobility. It does not deal directly with the prevailing social organization of Cornerville but only with the deviants from that organization. It accepts those who already are maladjusted in terms of the local society, it rewards them for breaking away from the ties of Cornerville, and it encourages them to better their social and economic positions. Since upward mobility almost always involves movement out of the slum district, the settlement is constantly dealing with people who are on their way out of Cornerville. It does not win the loyalty of the great majority of the people who look upon the district as their permanent home. Even among the small group of college men, in whose activities the social workers take particular pride, there are those who are less than completely loyal. . .

"Even the college men are lower class people until they have advanced upon their careers, and they are always Italians. Evidently it is very difficult for social workers to overcome the common prejudices against lower class people in general and against Italians in particular. They may sincerely believe that they have no such prejudice, but their actions betray them . . .

"It is certainly possible to defend the functions of the settlement house even as I have outlined them. It may perform a useful service in stimulating social mobility, even though that service is limited to a small fraction of the population. However, there are many people, including social workers, who feel that the primary function of the settlement house should be to promote a program which would benefit the rank and file of the people and win their loyalty. . . .

"In the literature of group work, there is considerable discussion of leaders and leadership. 'Leader' is simply a synonym for group worker. One of the main purposes of the group worker is to develop leadership among the people with whom he deals. As a matter of fact, every group, formal or informal, which has been associated together for any period of time, has developed its own leadership, but this is seldom recognized by social workers. They do not see it because they are not looking for it.

"For purposes of action, the only good definition is a functional definition: the leader is the man who customarily originates action for a group of people. Those who are leaders in this sense have loyalties quite different from those which the social worker honors. He may think that they should not be leaders and that he must do nothing to increase their prestige. Nevertheless, any practicable plan for community improvement must begin by recognizing the existing social organization and working through it. . . .

"The social worker feels that the indigenous leaders of the community are not sincerely interested in improving local conditions. It is my impression that they are just as sincere in that respect as the social workers. They have not accomplished more because their actions are limited by the nature of the social and political organization into which they fit. The person who studies the social and political organization will discover what these limitations are and will then be able to formulate a program in realistic terms. Within the limitations, the leaders are free to act, and in some cases only a catalytic agent is needed to set a community program in motion. If the social worker can present his ideas to the right people, the people who already have positions of power and influence, he can serve as that agent. . . .

"There is a widespread belief that if the social worker makes his program interesting enough, people will automatically join in and participate. I think that is an illusion. If he is to be effective in dealing with the community as it exists, he must begin by learning how it is organized and adjusting himself to it. Only then will he be able to convince the people that his organization belongs to them and is designed to serve their interests."

—*William A. Whyte.*

17. PAPAGO CHILD TRAINING

IT WAS a one room adobe house of the Papago Indians, that ancient, agricultural tribe of southwestern Arizona. The house was earthen floored, unfurnished, except for the neat piles of blankets and dried corn against the walls. From the outdoor kitchen, the housewife had brought in a pan full of embers around which the family squatted with their guests, ready for a winter evening of joking and tale telling. There were the father and mother, neither one speaking English, four or five children, a number of male relatives who had dropped in from neighboring houses, the grandfather and some female relative of his, known in the Papago system as grandmother.

The heavy door was open above its sill, built almost a foot high to keep out the summer flood water. It was cold and the person nearest the door was a little boy of two. Softly came the voice of a man near him. "My nephew, shut the door." The child was not this man's nephew as Whites would put it. He was the son of a fourth cousin; but Papago places all the relatives of one generation in one class.

The baby lumbered to the door which swung so high that he could barely reach it. He gave it a puny push and it did not budge. No adult rose up to say, "I'll do that, dear." The baby's parents did not even turn around and the "uncle" repeated, "Shut the door." The task was not actually beyond the child's strength, although it was hard. He pushed again and the door moved. "Shut the door." The voice was gentle as Papago voices always are. If one had not seen the speaker's cowboy boots and big shoulders, one might have thought him effeminate. "Shut the door."

With each command, the door moved a few inches and finally, with what must have been, for the child, herculean efforts, it was shut. No one rushed to congratulate and pet the baby. The mother and "grandmother" smiled but made no move. The baby came to the fire, taking his place among the men. He was a member of the working unit.

The incident is typical of child training among the old fashioned Papago. These were hard working, practical people who, for centuries, have lived in contact with dire necessity. Wresting a living out of some of the hottest and driest country in the United States, the men worked hard at tilling their tiny fields of corn, beans and squash. Now they have added the care of cattle. Women picked and used almost every wild thing that grew. Even children were expected to work as hard as they were able.

The result was that the youngsters learned through activity, in a system surprisingly like our modern project method. The difference was that Indian projects were not made of whole cloth with education as their sole aim. Usually they were necessities, where the child's work had real value. Knowledge of this value constituted his reward, for Papagos are not effusive. They gave children no more encouragement than adults—and no more blame. In order to understand their training, then, we must know something about how the adults were treated.

Papagos were and are democratic, with the complete and functioning democracy possible in small groups of people who share one ideal. Each village was a self-governing community, made up of smaller self-governing communities, the families. The motivating force for all of them was family loyalty and the desire to be an honored member of the group. By family, we do not mean the classical father, mother and three children of modern statistics. Papagos have an "extended" family in which the grandparents with all their brothers, sisters and cousins are grandparents, most of the relatives in the next generation are uncles and aunts and those in one's own generation are brothers and sisters. Hence in the door incident the command of the "uncle," whom a White family might have thought an intruder.

Generally, a number of these relatives lived together. The usual group is grandparents, with their sons, sons' wives and sons' children. Daughters marry and go to another family. So the elders in authority were not merely a father and mother, sharply silhouetted against the young children. They were a number of people, ranging all the way from young adulthood to age. The resulting division was not between old and young. It was between the males, who did men's work, and the females, who did women's work. Children lined up as apprentice members of the two working groups. Their play was imitating the activities of their elders. Instead of feeling themselves a separate and sometimes inimical group from these latter, their whole ambition was to discard the toy bow and arrow for the real one, to carry a full jar of water instead of one that was empty.

From infancy, they were the companions of adults, on a surprisingly equal basis. The one room house contained little that was breakable, so that it was seldom necessary to tell a child, "Don't touch." Older people lived so simply that they did not have to exile the children to separate meal hours and separate food. Nor did they leave them home while they, themselves, pursued adult activities. The whole group kept together, through ceremony, business, or family discussion.

It is not possible to invite a Papago couple to dinner and expect them to come without their three or four youngsters. Nor can parent-teacher meetings be conducted "free from children." The youngsters, therefore, cannot be discussed behind their backs. They at least know what the problems are, even if they keep politely silent during the talk, as younger adults do.

The whole family was, in fact, a business concern, with the older members as acting heads. Not that they gave orders! Their position was that of experts, directing their assistants by right of superior knowledge. In a community where methods of procedure differed little from year to year, the oldest person was the most knowing. His directions were issued in the form of suggestions, talked over before the whole family. Any of its members had a right to make a counter suggestion, if he did it politely and respectfully. "But few disagreed," say the old-fashioned Papago, any more than a man disagrees at a club meeting, where he sees the desires of the members all set in one direction. Thus, in former days, the family decided about marriages, about which son should go to hunt and which to till the fields, even as to whether one child should go to live with some aged relative, needing help.

Yet suppose a child did disagree? Then the grandfather, or several of the older members, dealt with him by talk and persuasion. Their argument was not, "When you are older you will understand how necessary this all is." Rather they said, "We all have to work, you as well as we. If one of us fails, the family may starve." There was no difference in the talk given to a child or to an adult. Another form of persuasion was the appeal to family pride. "If you don't do this, the village will look down on us. They will say we have a lazy child or man." Since the family was the very core of a man's life, furnishing his associations till death, family status mattered. With a girl, the appeal might be, "People will look down on your husband's family. They will be sorry they took you."

And if a person still would not conform? "Well then, we would do his work for him since it had to be done. But we would look down on him. Everybody would look down on him. And he would know it."

This group disapproval was the main punishment, for child and adult both. Otherwise, the elders relied on admonition, endlessly repeated until, as one old woman said, "You don't know whether someone said it to you or whether you just knew it yourself." The old people did, they say, sometimes douse a child in cold water to stop a temper tantrum. If they felt seriously about his misdoings they threatened him with supernatural punishments but this threat hung over adults too. They never made a child go without supper, for the giving of food to friend and stranger alike was part of their code. And they never spanked. Many Indians, unless they have been to a White man's school, find this form of punishment incredible. Nor do they understand when urged by the White authorities to "make" their children do this or that. The children will do it if trained and persuaded. Until then, patience.

It might look as though such lack of restraint could open the way to all sorts of obstreperousness, even to a revolt of youth. Yet teachers in Indian schools say this is not the case. Universally, they report that Indian children are far more cooperative in their behavior than Whites of the same age. Making trouble for trouble's sake is an idea unknown to young ones trained to cooperate with a group.

It might seem, too, that the system would tend to submerge individuality. However, it gives individuals outlets quite unconsidered by our own scheme. Children, for instance, have unrestricted ownership of their own property. This, of course, is simple, consisting in former days only of clothing, a tool or two and some implements for games. Yet children bartered these things or destroyed them without rebuke—just so they took the consequences. Conversely, when an Indian child has refused to sell some toy of his to a collector for an enormous price, the parents have not interfered. If the child would rather have his crude little bow than ten dollars, very well. If he will sell it for ten cents, obviously not enough, then also very well. He will learn.

This freedom is carried into every activity which does not vitally affect the group. Will the child go to the White doctor? Will he stay at the hospital? Will he be vaccinated? Will he go to school? These in the present Papago feeling, affect the life of the individual and he is to decide. White officials have been amazed at the patience with which Indian parents await the decision, even of a youngster. Few understand the quiet statement, "He does not seem to want to." This does not mean that the parent is helpless. It means quite often that the process of persuasion is not complete. Perhaps the decision of the whole family is still in doubt.

Every observer has noted the peaceful expression of the typical Papago face. Among the many causes for the serenity of soul behind such an expression, can one be the lack of youthful conflict? There is security in feeling oneself an important member of a group, even though this may sometimes mean the forgetting of personal preferences. Observers speak, too, of poise and self-reliance. Perhaps this is a natural development in those who have been fed on the expensive tonic of responsibility.—*Underhill*

From Marriage and Family Living. Nov. 1942.

3.

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

1. THE POWER TO DECIDE

IF ONE examines carefully the thinking of many Americans who profess a belief in Democracy, one finds a peculiar confusion of ideas. There is little real belief in the capacity of the common man to make a wise decision; "the common man" of course being always the other fellow. Each individual aspires to a position of leadership which will enable him to make wise decisions for the great mass of people who can't be trusted to think for themselves. Leaders in a Democracy however are often forced to go through the motions of consulting their subordinates or constituents. It is at such times that the true inwardness of their democratic convictions are revealed. The pseudo-democrat seeks only a reaction which may be interpreted as a profession of agreement. He isn't concerned to effect any fundamental change in the beliefs of his followers. To secure a profession of assent isn't as difficult as it may seem. Most leaders possess prestige and power, which makes many of their subordinates hesitate to *express* any disagreement they may feel. But being satisfied with a superficial agreement, rather than being concerned as to what one's followers really think or believe may prove disastrous. In unanswered criticisms or unsatisfied complaints may lie the seeds of dissatisfaction upon which an opposition leader may build a following.

Despite their doubts, leaders may turn to their followers with a resolve to appeal to their intelligence. They are often surprised to discover that a sincere invitation to express real opinions, often results in expressions of disagreement with themselves, or with others in positions of authority. Discovering that one's followers not only think, but in thinking dare to disagree with their leader, frequently comes as a major shock to the leader. At this point, it is easy for him to lose faith in the wisdom of people in the mass. He tends to retreat into an earlier pattern of thinking, and doubts the capacity of a group of average people to reach an intelligent decision through discussion. The dissenting views are pernicious and yet persuasive. Listening to them, the people will be led astray. So the discussion tends to become more and more one-sided. Those who dare to express differences of opinion find themselves in a subtle way rebuked for their boldness. The discussion may be brought to a sudden close. This experimenter with democracy has failed to recognize in these exchanges of view, a parallel to his own intellectual experiences while arriving at his present convictions. No position is unassailable, and the man who has consciously examined and rejected conflicting viewpoints is stronger and more confident in the rightness of his decision, than the man who is continually assailed by unresolved doubts. And so a discussion, which under wise guidance might have led to understanding and agreement, ends in frustration and doubt on both sides.

The strange thing about this kind of performance, is that it can be repeated on almost every level of leadership. The teacher retreats behind the prestige of his position when pupils ask embarrassing questions; the school principal issues instructions, rather than debating issues with his staff members; the reservation superintendent doesn't discuss an issue, but affirms that the "Office" has decided. Each leader is inclined to have much more confidence in his own judgment than in the capacity of his followers to arrive at a similar conclusion when confronted with the same set of facts. Of course, the leaders are never as wise or far seeing as they believe themselves to be, and the followers are seldom if ever as stupid as their leaders fear they may be. And fearing their lack of wisdom, leaders keep from their followers the information upon the basis of which wise judgments might be formed.

The successful practice of democracy demands that all be kept informed, and that every effort be made to provide the "man in the street" with the same opportunity to formulate intelligent conclusions that is possessed by the leaders. The danger that knowledge will be misused, or turned to the disadvantage of the position adopted by the leader, is never as great, as that rumor of the "knowledge" will circulate in garbled form and breed a lack of confidence in the integrity of the leader. Facts, good or bad, if clearly understood, may be more easily dealt with than rumors which possess enough of truth to survive denial.

It is fallacious to assume that in any form of government, all wisdom can be concentrated in a limited leadership, or that in the bureaucratic formulation of rules and regulations, the right to decide can be concentrated at the top of the organization. Regardless of whether the structure of government is democratic or dictatorial, there is a limit to what any one leader can know, or think, or do. He must eventually delegate to others the responsibility for making a host of minor decisions. Regardless of how minutely a pattern of organization may have been thought out, in many elements of actual execution the lesser leaders, in the field, will find it necessary to decide or interpret. These leaders, in their turn, will attempt to foresee and predetermine the actions of their subordinates, only to find again that the man who executes must exercise judgment. Thus in spite of everything, the business of making decisions must inevitably be delegated; ultimately, in many instances, to the common citizen who is, after all, a very reasonable person.

The local policeman, in making an arrest, is *interpreting* a law or regulation, regardless of how carefully the law was framed. The driver of a school bus, in deciding when to cross an intersecting highway, is *exercising a personal judgment* that may spell life or death to those in the bus—and no regulations can eliminate the element of judgment. The clerk in the filing section who routes an incoming letter to one administrative office rather than to another, is *exercising a personal judgment*, the need for which cannot be eliminated by the most carefully phrased rules or regulations. Throughout our lives, whether it be the airplane pilot, the steamship captain, the automobile driver, or the school teacher, the subordinate who actually executes the rules and regulations is inevitably called upon to judge, interpret, and decide.

Administration thus succeeds in proportion as its administrators down to the last man, understand what it is they are trying to do. Laws and rules grow out of purposes.

To the degree that those who execute the laws or rules understand their purposes, they will be well and intelligently administered. True democracy recognizes that inevitably judgments will be made by the "man in the street." It realizes that these judgments, when based on information and backed by facts, will be as valuable as those of many men who have achieved positions of leadership. Democracy therefore undertakes to educate its followers as well as its leaders—for there is no lower limit below which the necessity for judgment disappears.

"A government governs best which governs least," is a true statement, but true in a different sense than usually implied. It is true because effective law can never greatly outstrip the will of the people being governed. Laws which grow out of a sense of common need, require little enforcement; laws which many people believe to be unfair or needless are resented, ridiculed and ultimately disregarded. The Indian Service continually faces the need to understand the customs of tribal groups, so as to adjust the requirement of White law to accepted Indian custom, thus hastening the acceptance and observance of the newer codes—in spirit if not in letter.

Thus one is again confronted with the fact that it is, after all, the common man who enforces our laws for us—by obeying them when he understands and sympathizes with them. Most of us have little traffic with law enforcement officers. It is recognized that every game must be played according to the rules, whether it be the use of highways, national defense, public education, tax collection or methods of voting. All most of us ask is to know what the rules are, how they were formulated, that they are being fairly administered, and that we may register a democratic but effective protest if they are wrong or are wrongly administered. Satisfied on these points, we obey without urging. It is because of the few that the great system of law enforcement, the courts and the penal institutions exist. And it is more than possible that in proportion as the need for true democratic understanding in matters of this kind is recognized and practiced, the necessity for such agencies will diminish—for the law breaker is, usually, one who is "against the government"—which it is difficult to be, when one is himself a participating part in the government.

2. LOYALTIES

THE successful operation of any human enterprise is influenced greatly by the morale of its workers. Morale is the outcome of a series of loyalties; loyalty to a common purpose, loyalty to leadership, and loyalty to associates. Loyalty may be guided by intelligence or by blind unthinking adherence to formula. The latter type is being exemplified today in the European dictatorships and is the kind frequently thought of by many of our own patrioteers when attempting to inflict their own brand of patriotism on others. But it is intelligent understanding which must underlie loyalties within a democracy. With shifting leadership and evolving objectives, blind loyalties may become thoroughly dangerous.

Intelligent understanding of the problems, objectives, and methods underlying the work of any agency must belong to the rank and file of the workers in that agency, as well as to the leadership. It is not enough that a few of those at the top of the heap see the vision and do the planning. It is important that those who handle the day to day problems which arise in the carrying out of policies understand their import and apply intelligence in working them out. Education of the rank and file takes time, but it is the only step which can guarantee the ultimate success of a policy. When all members of an enterprise agree to the importance and desirability of its basic objectives, willing, intelligent, and enthusiastic effort toward the common goal becomes possible. While loyalty toward leadership is desirable, it is not nearly so essential as loyalty to objectives. Leadership falters, and leadership changes. The rank and file carry on, and if possessed of understanding and enthusiasm for the job that is being done can usually be counted upon to "carry on" despite momentary derangements in leadership.

Loyalty to leadership is usually the outgrowth of mutual confidence. We believe in a leader because a leader believes in us. We accept his goals as our goals. We believe in his honesty and his will to fair dealing. It is sometimes much easier to be loyal to an individual than to a set of principles. A leader is alive, dynamic, and adjusts himself to the changing situation in which he finds himself. However, leaders are bound to make mistakes and inevitably find it necessary to make decisions which appear to work injustice upon some individuals. Yet a leader must remain in a position to make individual adjustments in terms of human concerns. Leaders can also share their leadership with their associates and give opportunity for true democratic solution of problems which may arise. But when all has been said about loyalties to objectives and to leaders, the most important loyalty of all remains. It is the loyalty to associates.

After all, the men and women with whom we are in daily contact in carrying out a common purpose influence our lives to a much greater extent than distant leaders. Their idiosyncrasies, their selfishness, or their generosities play a significant part in daily living. Many times, unconsciously, they become ones with whom we compete for recognition and advancement. In the daily routine of living and working we are always in danger of exaggerating the faults and minimizing the virtues of these associates. They are all bound to differ from us sufficiently so that these difficulties may grow into annoyances, and annoyances can always be developed into resentments or jealousies. When good fortune meets such associates the way in which we greet it is liable to be determined by these petty reactions. If we have allowed ourselves to lose sight of the virtues of our associates, good fortune becomes "luck," and we resent it, and a slanderous tongue frequently attempts to minimize the justice of the recognition. This type of petty back-biting can only result in increasing jealousies and disloyalties. The associations which lead us into such errors might just as easily lead us in the opposite direction, had we but thought of the strengths instead of the weaknesses of our associates.

When we recognize the good ideas of others and work with them toward their realization, a very different feeling is engendered in the human heart. We come to discover that even the most annoying of our associates may have vision, generosity, capacity for leadership, understanding, and experience. We come to realize that from his virtues we ourselves can profit, and we learn to share with him the pleasures which come from recognition and advancement. By such selfless merging with something outside of ourselves, we may prepare for merited advancement, and even if advancement in a service with leaders and many followers does not follow, such an attitude at least should enrich our daily lives.

Jealousies must be laid aside. Pride in our associates must take the place of envy. Cooperation toward the greater success of those beside whom we are working is prerequisite to full achievement for ourselves. We must look forward to a time when recognition of an individual or of an institution within the Indian Service finds a healthy glow of pride reflected in the hearts of all the rest of us. With that should go a genuine curiosity as to the elements of *good* in the other person or program which have produced such comments.

Many times we will find that the greatest strength in a person, or in an institution, lies in its aspiration. Achievement frequently falls below objectives. Few human beings possess the capacity to bring their accomplishment fully into accord with their most worth while ideas.

Lastly, let us look forward to sincere emulation of the underlying purposes rather than the superficial aspects of any achievement. It is the purpose which counts. While the superficial aspects may be easier to imitate, the imitation will be hollow and purposeless unless the motives and objectives are understood.

3. THE PENDULUM SWING

EVERY democratic government has encountered the phenomenon of the pendulum swing. Expressed in simple terms this is what takes place: A condition exists which needs change. Change lags because most people don't know about the condition. When it is brought to their attention repeatedly, enough people ultimately agree to the need for change, to make a shift in leadership possible. The new leaders coming into power on a wave of public indignation often find it surprisingly easy to achieve the first steps in the proposed change. Successive steps become slower and slower of achievement. Encountering more and more opposition there is a tendency to belittle the intelligence of those who oppose and to push ahead bullheadedly, determined to reach a goal far beyond that originally understood or appreciated by the people who first supported the change.

People who espouse changes of this kind are usually called reformers, and their honesty of purpose and devotion to duty are seldom questioned. What has taken place in their cycle of experience, is that as reformers sitting on the outside and conscious of mistakes being made, they have been educators, slowly, persistently, but continuously expounding their criticisms of existing conditions; presenting, reiterating, elaborating, and dramatizing the facts so that dissatisfaction with conditions ultimately permeates the thinking of many people whose actual knowledge of conditions is very superficial. Having once succeeded to power as a result of a campaign of slow and careful education these leaders then cease their educational procedures. Controlling the law-making agencies and in charge of administration they forget the process by which they achieved their positions of power. They make the same mistake as their predecessors, assuming that all that is necessary in order to achieve their ends, is the right kind of laws enforced by competent officials. "Good laws," of course, in this case, because the motive of the crowd now in power is a good motive. The people having put them in power because of confidence in their motives, should know that the laws which they would pass and the administration of them, will be honest and worthy.

However, the outs have now become the educators. Having no share in legislation or administration, they become the critics. Slowly, patiently, and persistently they point out to the public the mistakes and the failures of the good men in office. Changes which by their very nature demand years for accomplishment, are ridiculed because transformations do not take place in months. Honest men who make mistakes find their motives suspected, and firm in the courage of their own honesty indignantly resent the imputations. The good men get so far beyond the understanding of their erstwhile supporters that they begin losing friends. Finally the lack of understanding, the criticisms, and the suspicions reach a point where public opinion changes and the "ins" go out.

Some of their reforms, especially those made in the early stages of their administration, are left pretty much alone by their successors, largely because most people have become accustomed to them and accept them as right. Some of the middle steps are questioned, some retained, and some overturned. The more radical, fundamental and recent changes are reversed with a cheer. The pendulum has started on its backward swing.

How much time will elapse before it is again reversed will depend upon the extent to which the leaders who have come to power keep in step with the understanding of the public. The public is easily satisfied with that to which it has become accustomed, and it takes a campaign of education to prepare its mind for change. There isn't anything new or radical in what has been said above—it is simply a summary of the historic course of human progress. In the end the thing which a majority of people understand, believe in, and want, is very likely to be accomplished. The thing which they fear, doubt, or misunderstand invites the activity of critics who will seek its overthrow.

What ultimately happens will depend on the patient process of education by which the vast mass of people are slowly made aware of a situation and help to formulate beliefs about it which they will help to carry into effect. It would thus appear that the process of democratic action may be exceedingly slow, because it involves educating many people. To be successful an appeal to the intelligence of the people must be continuous and not too impatient. Changes and reforms which are founded upon understanding and belief have a reasonable prospect of becoming permanent. Changes which move more rapidly than the understanding of the majority can keep pace with or which go so far as to arouse doubt and fear, are in danger of reversal at the first opportunity, regardless of how much apparent acquiescence may have accompanied their seeming acceptance.

4. THE SECRET BALLOT

THE right to say what one pleases, is relatively new in the history of human thought. People who have had a vested interest in things as they are, or who have wanted to maintain power or control, have always demanded compliance with their point of view. The individual or group of individuals who dared to disagree or be different, was penalized. Sometimes he was ostracized and driven from his home. At other times he was persecuted. Sometimes it was the government which objected to political differences of opinion; at other times it was the church, which branded a man a heretic if he questioned the religious beliefs of the moment. Many men have suffered privation and death to establish the theoretical contention that it is not a criminal offense to disagree with those in authority. However, in practice the strong-arm man has never ceased to coerce his followers, if he could get away with it.

Our own fair republic saw many public

elections in its early days, where individuals or groups which were economically powerful, attempted to control the vote by intimidating the opposition. In the old days of oral balloting a man might be beaten up for voting against his economic overlords. Even after the introduction of the printed ballot, numerous devices were invented by which a gang could check to see that the average man voted the right way. Marked ballots on distinctively colored paper or with distinctive insignia upon them, were frequently distributed and checked off by spotters as they were voted.

In more informal gatherings, an oral vote often has resulted in howling down the opposition. Almost every one has attended meetings where a standing vote was occasion for riotous outburst, in which partisans attempted to intimidate the voters, pulling them down or shouting at them, when they voted against the wishes of the noisy element.

All of these manifestations are merely carry-overs from the earlier period when might was accepted as right. All of this talk about democracy, this taking of votes, and assuring common people that they had a right to be heard, was looked upon by powerful and aggressive groups intent upon having their own way, as mere theory to be overcome or evaded one way or another.

It is still the exceptional leader who honestly desires to find out just what the wishes of a group of people are. Each man is likely to be so anxious to have what he believes to be right receive the support of the majority, that he cannot bring himself to be quite impersonal in the face of an election. He still deludes himself into believing that if he can get an expression of opinion which indicates popular support, it is just as good as having popular support. There are other times when voting is considered a perfunctory matter in which it doesn't make much difference which way the election goes, or it is assumed that the decision is already sufficiently predetermined so that the bother to insure an honest expression of opinion from everybody is unnecessary.

Gradually over a number of years, those who really believed in the value of democratic expressions of opinion, because they also believed in the importance of keeping the common man informed about things which concern him, have attempted to devise ways and means by which such opinions can be expressed without coercion. These people saw that there was only one way to guarantee free and honest expression of opinion. That way was to provide secrecy in voting so that every man could express his honest opinion without fear of reprisal. This can be done by ballot voting under the following conditions:

1. By the use of identical paper ballots which cannot be distinguished from each other.
2. By guaranteeing that ballots can be marked in privacy.
3. By requiring that ballots be folded before they are cast, so that the marking is hidden.
4. By guaranteeing that all individuals may vote under similar conditions, and that all votes shall be grouped and counted without discrimination and with equal value.

The habit of voting under these conditions in settling important issues, should be established. Otherwise carelessness or custom, by which other methods of voting are accepted as adequate, may be used coercively to prevent resort to a secret ballot at times when it is of vital importance in order to secure a free, full, honest expression of opinion.

With the efforts now being made to rebuild Indian self-government, it is important that Indian schools teach the value of the secret ballot, and introduce practice in its use. It is equally important that in our field relationships with Indians, an effort be made to prepare them for the adoption of this safeguard to democracy in their tribal elections and council actions.

Representative bodies frequently need the searchlights of public scrutiny upon their action, to prevent disregard for the wishes of their constituents. Therefore public roll-call votes are often appropriate for tribal councils or business committees. But when the people as a whole are voting, they are entitled to every opportunity to express their honest convictions without fear of reprisal.

5. ADMINISTRATION THROUGH UNDERSTANDING

THERE is a very famous scene in Gilbert and Sullivan's MIKADO in which three characters are engaged in explaining to the Mikado how they happened to report to him untruthfully that his son, the heir apparent, had been executed.

"It's like this," says Ko-ko the executioner, "When your Majesty says, 'Let a thing be done,' it's as good as done,—practically, it IS done—because your Majesty's will is law. Your Majesty says, 'Kill a gentleman,' and a gentleman is told off to be killed. Consequently, that gentleman is as good as dead—practically, he IS dead—and if he is dead, why not say so?"

It is really amazing how many times this line of reasoning, in more or less modified form, operates in government service. It frequently amounts to self-deception on the part of both parties to the argument. The administrator in charge is often tempted to announce a new policy in the form of an order, ignoring the fact that there are a variety of factors which may interfere with its execution. An order having been given, it must be carried out, and a report is therefore requested as to how effectively it is being carried out. The subordinates who receive the order are aware of the fact that it can only be carried out in part or that it can be given effect only slowly and over a long period of time. However, orders are orders, and in reporting on the effectiveness with which any particular order is being carried into effect, there is a natural tendency to over-stress the favorable aspects of its execution and ignore or understate the difficulties and delays.

Such a situation is doubly vicious because the person who issued the order wants to believe favorable reports with regard to its execution, and is therefore likely to be uncritical about such reports. Therefore, evidence that his policies are being favorably received and operating successfully leads to renewed emphasis upon the policy and growing impatience with those who think that the proposal is less than perfect. Responsibiilty for the condition rests more with the administrator than it does with the subordinates, because he is in a position to exercise a very determining influence upon the lives and fortunes of those subordinate to him. Many of them, therefore, fear to report adversely when the facts are adverse. Being, as it were, an agent of destiny, the administrator has a serious responsibity to evaluate with some degree of clarity the possibility of carrying out proposals, and of recognizing some of the inevitable difficulties which will be encountered.

He should realize, for example, that it is exceedingly difficult to transmit his own enthusiasm to others. His own background and experience may make him open-minded with regard to a situation which is outside of the immediate experience of his subordinates. A proposal, therefore, which appeals to him as logical may seem to them unusual, irregular, and undesirable. The more concientious they are in their own desire to do a good job, the more difficult it will be for them to accept the new point of view and disregard or abandon the old. If there is some opportunity for personal contact and active discussion between the administrator and his subordinates, there is greater possibility that his ideas and his enthusiasm may be transmitted. To the extent, however, that he must depend upon written memoranda which in turn are rewritten by his subordinates and passed on in turn to their subordinates, the whole procedure ceases to be personal and becomes routine. As a routine matter it ceases to have the intensity or the immediacy that it may have had when it was first conceived.

When all of these factors are recognized and taken into consideration by an administrator, he should plan his approach to a new policy over a longer period of time, make an effort to secure the understanding cooperation of his subordinates, and try to build a relationship with them that will encourage an honest and frank reporting of the difficulties which are encountered in carrying the policy into effect. As these difficulties are revealed they may be studied with a view to modifying the proposed procedure and in the light of the facts, the difficulties may be explained away or the program changed. An administrator possessed of a clear picture of what is actually happening is much better off, therefore, than one who deceives himself as to what is taking place.

There are approaches to a problem which actually invite deception. In a meeting to discuss a proposal the man who is urging it often does so with such intensity and betrays such annoyance or disappointment at unfavorable reactions that he automatically shuts off those who honestly desire to discuss the issue on its merits. He thereby gains the false impression that he is addressing a favorable audience because no one expresses the disagreement which he feels. No program is advanced by deluding oneself as to the amount and effectiveness of opposition. There are, of course, those in any organization who oppose change and who sabotage programs of change. Such individuals can sometimes be educated, sometimes will accept and operate under orders, and some have to be transferred to activities in which they can more heartily cooperate, but nothing is gained by failure to recognize that they exist.

6. TEACHING VS. PRACTISING

DEMOCRACY is a word which describes a way of life—a way which can exist under a variety of organizational patterns or which can be strangled by "democratic" procedures. We have seen more than one German election in which the voting group was coerced into an indorsement of the ruling regime, yet most Americans would laugh at the idea that this "technique of democracy" was serving a democratic purpose in Germany. We have all known labor unions, city governments, or state legislatures in which the very systems worked out to permit the exercise of democracy were actually used to defeat the will of the majority. Representatives of the people elected to do the will of the people have many times in America as in other countries ended by doing the will of pressure groups or politically powerful factions in defiance of the wishes of the majority.

Structurally, the control which the conscientious voter can exercise over the largest agency of democratic government in America—the federal government—extends to the election of just four people: The President, the Vice-President, a senator, and a representative in Congress. The entire executive department and the entire federal judiciary are appointive officials. In many states and cities the passion for democratic structure extends to the point that sheriffs, judges, printers, and surveyors are chosen by ballot without appreciably improving the professional qualifications of those selected. If one compares the quality of public service which results from local elections in which many minor offices are filled by ballot, with the efficiency obtained in national administration where we vote for a few key people, it will be apparent that increased exercise of the ballot can actually defeat its own purpose. The man in the street may reasonably hold an opinion about important policies of government, but lack the information which will enable him to choose wisely as between two candidates for county surveyor or state printer, the qualifications for which he has no means of knowing.

Most individuals learn a great deal of what they know by the trial and error method. Children probably profit more by their mistakes than do adults, because more often their mistakes are analyzed for them in such a way that they can see wherein the error lay. Adults less often apply such learning to their own experience, because it is not easy to recognize one's own mistakes, and when they are called to one's attention, the manner in which this is done frequently produces an effort at self-justification rather than a correction. When trial and error is applied to the broad question of judgment as expressed in an election, it is very much harder to profit from mistakes. An Indian tribe which votes to sell land, or a city government which bonds itself for an unnecessary highway, seldom has opportunity to reverse the decision, even though it may have proven unwise, and almost as seldom encounters a similar problem to which previous experience will apply.

If democracy is an objective, it implies that we seek the best judgment of all the people. And we accept, as a criterion of group judgment, that the opinion of a correctly informed majority is more likely to be right than the opinion of any smaller fraction of the whole. The difficulty which we all face, is that of correctly informing all the people. It takes time. There are so many who disagree with us. So many people ask such embarrassing questions which are so hard to answer, that there is always a temptation to devise some means of securing the stamp of approval without bothering to convert the majority. Many schools are guilty of contributing to this disregard for informed judgment.

While the manipulation of democratic processes may at times appear to speed up desirable accomplishments when used by socially-minded minorities, it is nevertheless a dangerous expedient. Human experience has proved that the devil and the angels can both use the same tools and the same arguments. So a technique which is used once in a good cause may later be used again to defeat an equally good cause. The real safeguards for democracy are an informed public opinion and plentiful participation in the making of responsible decisions. The Indian democracies of the western world recognized these needs even more truly than the Whites ever have and so they went farther than the rest of us have ever gone in subjecting proposals to discussion and debate. Sometimes tribal decisions were made by the whole tribe; at other times they were made by tribal councils, but regardless of how they were arrived at, it was usually required that they be unanimous decisions.

When White men first began to deal with Indians, the demand for unanimous decisions annoyed them greatly because it meant that long delays ensued when proposals of drastic change were made to Indian groups. Many Whites, of course, came to such conferences with a background of European monarchism in which one man was deemed adequate to make decisions, and it was taken for granted that a similar pattern existed among the Indians, so they early sought for kings or chiefs with whom they could deal. Many times there was an assumption, again gained from European experience, that such leaders were corruptible and by playing on their self-interest could be led to betray their followers. In the same way, it was assumed that small groups of leaders such as the councils could be bribed or bulldozed into acceding to proposals which the main body of the tribe would oppose. Again the European pattern which taught acquiescence to law and authority regardless of how that law or authority was obtained or controlled made it difficult for Whites to accept graciously a social organization in which the rights of the individual were considered so important that group action might not be taken without full unanimity. While it is probable that tremendous aggregations of people such as are found in White cities or states or in an entire nation cannot afford the extravagance of seeking unanimity, it must be granted that in Indian tribes where this was practiced, certain decided advantages resulted.

1. It made all people more reasonable. Those who urged a procedure had to be reasonable in order to win the understanding and ultimate acquiescence of everyone. Those inclined to disagree had to be reasonable and ready to compromise because in a society of unanimous action, no one can afford to antagonize others, for resentments carried over into retaliation could easily disrupt the society.

2. The result of such discussion and debate was to produce a unanimity of support for any action, which was likely to be a guarantee of its success. There was no possibility, for example, of a complete reversal of social policy resulting from a "coup d' etat" or an election in which a minority faction through some freak in the voting gained control of the mechanics of governmental administration.

Indians learned democracy by practicing it, and White Americans have also learned a lot about democracy by trying self-government over a period of more than two hundred years. The Indians had the advantage of starting fresh and solving their problems as they came to them. The Whites have had to overcome the difficult heritage of European patterns, which recognized the special rights of favored classes as superior to those of the common man—and haven't wholly succeeded yet in making democracy work all the time.

However, the fact remains that improvements in democratic techniques will come about only through the practice of democracy—in school, on the reservation, in cities and rural areas—and finally in all aspects of our common social life. What is needed most is a determination to provide every opportunity for the formulation of an informed opinion, and then a willingness to let that opinion express itself—and abide by the results. If the facts are on our side—then it is our business to make those facts available to everyone. New ideas don't "take" on first exposure, usually—but require re-presentation frequently and in a variety of settings.

Embarrassing questions are to be expected and welcomed, for old ideas aren't abandoned without a struggle. Ideas can't be suppressed—they can only be driven undercover, or supplanted by better ideas. Fortunately we are all slow to change our thinking, and we must be willing to grant the other fellow as much time as we ourselves required, in order to get a new idea into his head. Because a person is older or younger, dark-skinned or light-skinned, male or female is no reflection on his right to participate in decisions which may affect him. It's important to take the time for a little more active *practice* of democracy.

7. TRY DEMOCRACY

ONE is constantly encountering the pseudo-democrats. They are the ones who are not concerned with giving effectiveness to the will of the majority, but who spend time in devising ways of making it appear that the majority has accepted their preordained conclusions. It is easy to get into that class—too easy. Many who sincerely think of themselves as believers in democracy, at times unwittingly find themselves attempting to devise procedures for outwitting democracy. It is usually all done in a spirit of saving the "community" from the penalties of its own mistakes or errors of judgment. There are times when this may be the result, but when such manipulation takes place under the guise of democracy, the ultimate effect may be more harmful to the good faith and "morale" of the group than downright and frankly confessed dictatorship.

Even a three year old child who has been promised that he will be allowed to decide something for himself, is perfectly well aware when his mother or nurse or other older person "talks" him into accepting her decision. He may yield to "pressure" but he knows that he has done so and he resents it. If thereafter the person who "talked him out of" his own wishes tries to keep up the pretense that it was a voluntary decision on the child's part, he resents it and grows increasingly resentful and bitter as the experience is repeated.

What is true about a young child is even more true with a group of school age children or an adult group, and anyone should be able to verify this analysis out of his own recollections of past experience.

All through the Indian country we are today engaged in re-establishing "self-government" among Indian tribes which for years have been subject to the whims of an agency superintendent. Many promises have been made as to the part they are to be permitted to play in their own direction. Many of the groups have been skeptical as to our intentions, for they have had years in which to learn that White men are in the habit of having things done the White man's way, regardless. Nevertheless, we've given them constitutions and charters and set up a complicated machinery for Indian self-government, and urged them to take part in formulating and operating this new structure.

In doing all of this, we have aroused great expectations. Possibly after a century of accepting White dictation, consideration is at last to be given to what the Indian wants. Heretofore we have seldom hesitated to make it evident that the White man's wish must ultimately prevail. Now we have been saying that the Indian may decide, even when we think he's wrong. Do we really mean it. And if we don't, haven't we sown the seeds of a deeper resentment than any heretofore experienced?

There is no doubt that administratively it is desired to increase Indian participation. It is only fair and just that this should be so, but in a brief period of time, many persons who have given a lifetime to making important decisions for Indians, are being asked to revise their attitudes and grant the right and ability of Indians to decide for themselves. Let us not fool ourselves about this. There are administrators in the Indian Field Service who still believe that Indians are like "little children," and who have always treated them that way. Like the compulsive parent who holds the purse strings and has never permitted his son or daughter to develop independence of judgment, these administrators control the economic resources of the Indian and can therefore dictate his actions. Like the schoolman who learns the new pedagogic vocabulary without modifying his practices, there are Indian Service administrators who can talk the new language without believing it.

None of these men wants to do the Indian a disservice. Most are devoted to the Service and the Indian people with whom they work. But many, like the conscientious parent, are engaged in saying in one breath, "You may now make your own decisions," and in the next trying to do the Indians' thinking for them, and manipulating the machinery of democracy so as to control what actually takes place.

Each of these men is probably allowing Indians a greater share of participation than he would have permitted ten years ago, but it is questionable if this modicum of improvement is not lost in the frustration which must result from promises of greater participation neatly evaded. If we Whites are going to make the decisions, let's say so and ask the Indians to continue to put up with our decisions as they have had to do for a century. If we promise them a part in the decisions, let us keep our promises fully and without evasion. Psychologically, the ultimate effect on our mutual relations will be much healthier and eventually, increasing participation will produce a greater sense of responsibility. The Indians are ready for it, will grow in wisdom with experience in self-government, and will in all cases make only a few more mistakes in managing their own affairs than we have made for them.

8. HELPING DEMOCRACY WORK

WE ARE all familiar with the fact that the most radical critic of an incumbent administration frequently becomes as conservative as the man he criticized when he takes office and is actually faced with the responsibilities which that man had been carrying. Criticism battens on inadequate knowledge. If you don't know all the facts, it is very easy to point out what might or should have been done. The complete facts with regard to any situation are usually known to only a limited few of those who are concerned with the problem. Diplomacy, or consideration for other people's feelings, or some other consideration, prevents a full statement of the case becoming generally known. The sudden conservatism which appears in the face of responsibility results from a new recognition of the details of the problem which were not previously known or understood.

When a democratic body is substituted for a limited and responsible executive in the formulation of policy, it becomes necessary to lay all of the available facts before the body so that its legislation may be intelligent and responsible. Sometimes, as in Congress, the legislative body is willing to delegate to committees of its own membership the responsibility for listening to "the evidence" and reporting back recommended actions which the major body is usually willing to accept. In extending the rights and privileges of self-government to heretofore dependent groups, difficulty is frequently experienced in bringing about the complete canvass of all the facts which is necessary to achieve wise decisions.

In the classroom or in the Indian council room there is a tendency to invite discussion and to permit decisions to be arrived at, without adequate exploration of all the facts. As a result, decisions are frequently unwise and irresponsible. Every problem must be considered in the light of certain automatic restrictions. For example, funds with which to operate schools or other governmental services are appropriated by Congress or other legislative bodies. The amounts available for expenditure are therefore determined by these bodies and are not subject to review by the immediate administrative agency. Within that gross appropriation, however, there may be room for some discretion in the distribution of amounts as between subordinate functions. A principal or superintendent, therefore, has discretion within these areas and may share that discretion with members of his teaching or agency staff or with his Tribal Council in planning for these flexible expenditures. Whether to buy cattle or buy a tractor, whether to expend repair funds on a repainting job or add a front porch to somebody's quarters or renew the bathroom fixtures for somebody else are judgments which can be arrived at within the gross framework which has been predetermined.

It is often argued that when faculty or other similar groups are permitted to express opinions with regard to administration, the resultant discussions are apt to roam far afield. Proposals are made or are discussed which are outside the area of decision within which the group can function. When this is true, and it frequently is, the responsibility usually lies with the chairman of the group or the administrator who has permitted or initiated the discussion, *for not having made entirely clear the limitations within which the discussion must take place.* Any discussion to be of value is subject to such limitations.

When any administrator undertakes to make plans for the future, he first undertakes, if he is wise, to ascertain the conditions which automatically govern his plans. He knows or must find out, first how much money he can spend; second, the number of employees he can call upon; third the nature and extent of the physical plant; fourth, the supplies, materials and other items with which he has to work. There are other more or less vital items that will enter in, dependent somewhat upon the nature of each case. But this framework defines the limitations within which he must operate and he makes his plans accordingly. If he finds these limitations extreme and hampering to his activities, he is of course at liberty to contemplate a possible expansion, again within definable limitations which he can propose to agencies beyond his immediate control for their approval or disapproval. Such a proposal might take the form of a statement that with certain additional facilities, personnel or money, certain enlarged possibilities can be undertaken.

Similar restrictions can be laid down preliminary to group planning, and discussion can be kept within these boundaries. Where specific modifications would have results of unusual value, a group can be encouraged to define such modifications specifically and set them forth as desirable aspirations, while accepting the fact that immediate operations must be conducted within a more restricted sphere.

In thinking through any situation, it is always difficult to project the immediate problem under discussion far enough to see what its ultimate effect may be. And yet the wisdom of any decision is measured by its general applicability. As we attempt to fulfill our responsibility in encouraging increased participation by Indians in democratic decisions concerning their rights and problems, we are under serious obligation to plan with them, to the end that sincere and valid exploration of the problems under discussion takes place.

There is a subtle distinction between directing a discussion so that it results in a thorough and adequate exploration of all the issues which demand consideration, and an attempt to dictate the decision which should be reached. Nevertheless this distinction is the determining factor in a democracy. Faced with the necessity of examining all of the pertinent factors within the limitations which must be observed, the democratic decision of almost any group will vary but little from that which would be made by its leaders in the light of the same evidence. When made, however, it carries with it the conviction and support of all who have participated in the decision. In the absence of adequate exploration of all the factors, irresponsible decisions may be expected from either group.

It is not unusual to hear a school principal or a reservation superintendent, in discussing the degree to which he is making effective a democratic approach to his school or reservation problems, assert that he went off and left his student council, his student group, his tribal council, or a meeting of tribal members, to discuss problems *freely* by themselves. Unfortunately, while the aspiration to avoid influencing their decisions is laudable, such a "free" discussion would usually fail to be an adequate exploration of all of the contingent factors, because the person who was in a position to supply that information — the principal or the superintendent—had deliberately absented himself from the discussion. The conclusion arrived at would be on the basis of inadequate evidence and if wise, would be as much a matter of chance as though it were foolish.

Unfortunately, when an administrative officer participates in such a discussion he tends to identify himself and his own personal beliefs with the discussion which is taking place and therefore feels called upon to attempt to influence the decision. Because of the inherent prestige in his position, this may constitute an interference with democratic action. The problem before us all is how to conduct a discussion so that all contributing factors are thoroughly explored, while leaving the conclusions and the interpretation to be drawn from these facts to the group which is making the decision.

9. PRIVILEGES

EUROPEAN aristocracy was based on privilege. "Birth" and "position" accorded a man or woman certain "rights," not enjoyed by the "commoners." These "rights" were jealously guarded, for in the absence of some such evidences of distinction, many a lord by his behavior might have been confused with his underlings.

Theoretically, breeding was evidenced by the superior culture, the better manners and the greater courage of the upper classes. Often it was, but to protect these upper classes in their preferred position, *birth* was invoked as a guarantee of superiority in event the refinements of character were lacking. To a casual observer it was easily apparent that position and worth were not necessarily synonymous.

The hardy yeoman and burghers who established a new nation in a new world had had plenty of experience with the corrupt and worthless sons of privilege whose privileges had been extended to the new world by royalty, and in the social "revolution" which accompanied the break with the mother country, bold efforts were made to destroy forever the foundations of "privilege" in the new nation. The Federal Constitution in forbidding the granting of titles of nobility expressed the determination that in the United States, preferment should be accorded only on a basis of personal worth. The hero tales of the young democracy while not completely rejecting the "prince in disguise" as the explanation for the abilities or achievement of common men, continued to honor the "man of the people" who rose to leadership. Politicians, recognizing the potency of the myth of "lowly birth" all claimed poverty and a log cabin as conditions of birth.

The idealism of the myth makers, however, could not compete with the power of money —and a new privileged class was born. Like the earlier privileged classes, its better members sought for culture, manners and the other characteristics of gentility. Having achieved them in part, they were in a position to look down on those who sought through the acquisition of money to acquire prestige, as "social climbers" and "newly rich."

Prestige encourages emulation and stimulates envy. Those unable to win it through character, aspiring to achieve recognition if not prestige, have often resorted to the use of money to buy privilege. Our country has witnessed positions of political importance as high as the Federal senatorship bought by newly rich miners, oil men, or business men of other kinds.

Other seekers after privilege have been willing to compromise on smaller things. Tipping represents on effort to bribe a servitor to render an especial service not intended for the commonalty. Through imitation it has degenerated into a hold-up, without delivery of the special favors. Ticket scalpers of metropolitan theaters or other events trade on the fact that those with money will try to obtain special privileges for which they will pay unreasonably, rather than take their chances with the common people.

Civil servants of many kinds expect privileged treatments not accorded to ordinary men—treatment accorded at the expense of ordinary men, often. And more unfortunately, many civil servants expect to extend preferred treatment to "influential citizens," because of their presumed influence.

Viewed from its implications for democratic administration of public affairs, this conception of privilege is both dangerous and corrupting. The moment it is granted that a regulation which has been established for the good of all, may be indiscriminately violated by the few because of some privileged status, a blow has been struck at the morale upon which a society must depend for the enforcement of most of its controls.

It must never be forgotten that in most societies, individual conformity to a desirable pattern is largely voluntary, or habitual. There aren't enough policemen to force the citizens of any large city—or other group—to do anything which a substantial minority refuses to do—unless the majority is prepared to invoke martial law and "go to shootin' " those who refuse.

For example, it is clearly recognized by the public in general that automobile parking in certain areas is a great inconvenience. The posting of "no parking" signs is adequate to keep the space clear so far as the great majority is concerned. However, if "privileged" cars are permitted to violate the restriction, resentment follows—either against those enjoying favors, or against the prohibition itself. The most effective way for an unpopular restriction to gain general support, is for it to become known that no "exceptions" are being permitted.

It should be clear that there is no public demand that privileges be extended to the few, because of some fancied superiority. It is recognized, of course, that there are those who in the execution of their duty, may be entitled to special consideration, temporarily. But there is no "class" in America, or any other democratic society, that because of its money, its position, or its prestige continuously "rates" preferential treatment.

To the administrator, nothing can be more dangerous than an attempt to curry favor by extending privileges. If special considerations are being shown, there is no limit to those who will wish to be included in the favor group. It then becomes a question of whom to offend and whom to propitiate. Distinguishing between the sheep and the goats in any social group is a thankless task for any person who derives his position from the unprivileged majority. The man who compiles the social register can afford to be snobbish perhaps, because he sells his book to those whom he *includes.* He derives a profit from *classifying* people as entitled, for some mysterious reason, to recognition denied to the majority. Public employees however are the servants of that majority, and can only invite trouble by attempting to distinguish between those whom they are chosen to serve.

"Unbiased," "free from prejudice," "fair,", "doesn't play favorites" are descriptive phrases recognized as complimentary. "She was hard on me, but she was absolutely fair," "My father was a stern man, but he treated us all alike," "His standards were high, but he played no favorites," are familiar tributes. Contrast them with the equally familiar, "Always courting favor," "teacher's pet."

From earliest childhood even-handed justice is desired by all. Punishment is accepted as merited, if all who are guilty of similar behavior are similarly treated. No injustice rankles so much as to be singled out for rebuke when others equally guilty are allowed to escape scotfree.

Those who desire special attention are loud in their demands, but group approval will sustain any administrator who is firm, fair, and treats all alike. This is not to indicates that courtesies are not due to leaders who appear as representatives of their groups, to those who have distinguished themselves in public service, and to those who occupy, temporarily or permanently, *positions* commanding respect. This is to emphasize that *special privileges* are undemocratic, and, more important to the man on the firing line—exceedingly dangerous to monkey with. He who treats all alike is on safe ground—if he is courteous in doing so. He who attempts to extend special privileges to a selected few, begins immediately to create enmity, which may ultimately destroy him.

10. DISCUSSION GROUPS

THE Town Meeting is part of our American heritage from the early days when people along the Atlantic coast were engaged in breaking away from their European pattern of life and in becoming adjusted to life in a rugged new American environment. Their problems were those of developing resources, of creating a brand-new nation, of organizing a type of government to fit their needs, and at a later date of fighting a war for the perpetuation of those things which had already assumed value in their existence on this side of the ocean.

These problems were argued and debated, and possible solutions arrived at in free and open discussions in every town, village, hamlet and crossroads tavern. Town Meeting was the name given to such conclaves. What America has become today is partly the consequence of the sharpening of wits which took place at these gatherings, and of the willing conviction of the people which resulted from frequent opportunities to listen to others express their opinions and to express one's own opinion. At a later period, the circle that gathered around the wood stove at the general store carried on the American tradition of public discussion of current local and national problems. The usage has persisted into recent times in women's clubs, men's service clubs, parent-teacher associations, church groups, labor unions, youth organizations. With the inevitable specialization taken on by discussions in these particular-interest groups there has been a resulting loss of the cross-section-of-the-population point of view which obtained in the town meeting.

For long generations before the White man came to America, the Indians had developed a discussion technique of their own in the council meeting. There, all the problems of food, shelter, clothing, social security, religion, health, travel, warfare were deliberated at length until there was general agreement as to the best course of action. As a result, Indian groups actually practiced and lived a democracy that was social and industrial as well as political. Even under conditions as they are today, Indians still hold their council meetings. Teachers who have sat and listened to these discussions in council have been impressed by the unhurried, deliberate exchange of views, and by the universal tolerance for the opinions of all who feel the urge to speak.

With this double legacy of the right to public affirmation of individual points of view and judgments, it is not surprising that much emphasis is placed upon the educational value of the discussion group process for use with Indian young people. Before and even long after schooling became an organized function of society, public group discussions were one of the main agents in the education of the general citizenry. The war will certainly spread and speed the acceptance by teachers of this device for increasing and diffusing widely, understandings of militant democracy, war aims, planning for post-war life.

We are in a situation today which calls for solving numberless problems, many of which deal with areas of living similar to those which puzzled the public in the days when the town meeting flourished. It was effective then, and can be so now. All of the problems of wartime and of the peace to follow can be discussed by different age-level school groups, simulating a town meeting or a native council. One of the children can act as leader while the teacher becomes one of the group and makes a real effort to avoid joining in the talk. One of the factors which makes for maximum effectiveness of the round table technique is the amount of information which the group members have on the subject being investigated. The teacher's correct function and responsibility are in connection with helping the young people to secure plentiful prediscussion information and material, and to see that ample time is afforded to permit adequate exploration of the facts.

A classroom discussion session which has turned out successfully might be re-done for another class or for a general assembly program, but the spontaneity will be lost and much of the general value of the experience forfeited if any attempt is made to repeat the discussion word for word. A variation would be to select a half-dozen of the participants and have them present the topic before a school assembly, and at the conclusion of the speaker's contribution use the procedure of America's Town Meeting of the Air of allowing questions from the floor. The University of Chicago Round Table broadcasts suggest an excellent design for such discussions when only a very small number of participants is used.

Part of the teacher's preparation for providing children with information about a given topic for discussion might well consist of participation in a faculty round table. Other adults and young people might be invited to listen to the presentation.—*Howard*

11. GETTING THINGS DONE

THE biggest problem encountered by any one throughout his lifetime is that of getting other people to do what he wants done. The success of every executive depends upon his having found a means to accomplish this objective. The success of every teacher hinges on her ability to secure from her pupils obedience to her directions. Throughout history there has been one primary recipe for such success—the application of force. In a pyramidal society controlled at the top, power has been seized by a leader who organized beneath himself layers of lieutenants whose spheres of influence he defined and who were expected by him to use force in serving his and their ends. At the bottom of the pile were the common people, who for thousands of years were in actuality merely slaves.

The concept of democracy, however, immediately undermined the whole philosophic and actual basis of such controls by force. The thesis that "all men are created equal," the slogan "liberty, equality, fraternity," and the universal ballot profoundly modified the status of the common man. The full implication of the catch phrases of the American and French Revolutions were at first not recognized either by the "better people" or by the "common man."

The right to vote in the original colonies and in the early republic was carefully restricted to "the better people." Success, position, prestige remained the criterion of leadership. Slave owning was not only tolerated, it was recognized in the Constitution. Indentured servants, or their successor the contract laborer, existed under the American flag until the 20th century. Yet as the nation sprawled westward the actuality of equality became more evident along the frontier. Leadership in sparsely settled areas naturally fell to those with ability and daring, regardless of past position.

It was only natural that Andrew Jackson, the spokesman of the common man, should have arisen and won his spurs on the frontier. Despite the many Jacksonian actions which are open to criticism, such as the blatant declaration of the "spoils" doctrine, or the cruel and heartless removal of the southeastern Indian tribes, it is to Jackson that credit must go for the enfranchisement of the common man.

Once the ballot of the street car conductor carries just as much weight as that of the traction magnate, and the packing house czar can cast no larger vote than his meanest butcher, the groundwork is laid for a new kind of society in which force can play a much less dominant role. The changeover cannot occur immediately, for the leaders of wealth and power are not ready to abdicate just because the law gives the little man a chance to express himself. And the little man cannot immediately assert himself, because he lacks the training and the psychological readiness to participate in the direction of his own affairs. The result has been that for a number of years a dichotomy has existed in the education of our youth.

Our schools since the days of Horace Mann have told the youth of the nation that all men were equal, that any man might become President, that liberty and equality existed, and that free men wore no man's yoke. At the same time teachers were tyrants and themselves subject to tyrannical administrators. While children were being told that they were in training for democratic citizenship, they were expected to respond to rigid and arbitrary discipline. A determination to resolve this conflict between preachment and practice has been one of the underlying tenets of modern education. It has been recognized that there are two ways to accomplish a purpose. One is to make a man do as he is told through fear of the consequences; the other is to create a situation by which the man *wants* to do what is desired.

We have grown up in a culture in which being father of a family, a teacher, the boss of a business, mayor of the town, or military leader has been presumed to carry with it the *power to dictate* the actions of one's subordinates. This, of course, is a carryover of the feudal age, but it is a sufficiently powerful carryover so that most people who find themselves in positions of authority, automatically conclude that their word should be law and that their subordinates should recognize the fact. Sometimes such people are sufficiently considerate and reasonable so that the thing they ask subordinates to do arouses no opposition or resentment. Often, however, the intoxication which accompanies the sense of authority leads such people to believe that their every word should produce immediate conformity regardless of reason or justice. When they are unreasonable, subordinates become resentful and a "disciplinary situation" arises. The teacher then must "assert her authority" and punish the questioner. The business man fires his employee for insubordination. The soldier goes to the guardhouse. We have still to learn the *practice* of democracy in most of our personal and economic relations.

However, here and there a business comes to light, in which the management recognizes labor as an equal partner entitled to advise with regard to methods of operation —and also to share in the profits.

The reorganization of the Ladies' Garment Industry of New York City is a case in point, in which the union has exercised as much concern over efficiency and economy of operation, as it has over wages and operating conditions. The business success of hundreds of other firms which have applied democracy to the relations between management and labor testifies to the fundamental soundness of the principle. The committees of labor and management formed during the war emergency at the insistence of the War Production Board smoothed out labor relations, increased efficiency and produced countless suggestions for improvement in procedure which greatly benefited the war effort.

This sharing of responsibility with subordinates has not eliminated all problems, but it has resulted in closer and more willing collaboration and eliminated many causes of friction. It would appear that herein lies a means of dealing with people. While it involves a sharing of power and responsibility, which may decrease the apparent importance of the leader, it does result in getting more people to cooperate willingly. Leaders might well begin to evaluate their successes in terms of the share which their subordinates assume for the success of the work they are doing—rather than in terms of how promptly their subordinates "snap to attention," or how much deference they display.

4.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND EDUCATION

1. WERE YOU EVER A CHILD?

MOST of us are exposed continuously to two kinds of education at the same time. We are conscious of our formal education—which comes to us through schools, churches, and other organized agencies which designate their influence upon us as education. We are not so conscious of the effects of living with a family, participating as members of a community, working with others, and learning through observation and imitation how various kinds of work are done. It is sometimes surprising to discover how uncritical we are of the lessons we learn from this second type of education.

As we pass from one social status to another, we take on the pattern of the newer group, forgetting with surprising speed the things which we believed as members of the preceding group. For example, children live a distinct life of their own. They have interests and desires which are usually understood by other children, often shared by them, but which frequently tend to be more or less incomprehensible to adults. Thus children often find their adult associates to be unsympathetic and without understanding. They also find that adults aren't very consistent, and deny to children privileges which they demand for themselves. Children grow to dislike strongly grown people whom they believe to be unfair, or dishonest, and they resent favoritism which permits privileges to some children because they are cute or servile or likable, but withholds them from other children because they are dull or unattractive. Children fear and dislike people who are sarcastic to them. Sarcasm cuts so keenly that it cannot be openly repelled, but leaves smoldering resentment. Children admire frankness and honest confession of fault and particularly dislike the bluffer who tries to cover up an obvious mistake. No eyes could be more clear-sighted, no judgments more free from self-interest, no expectations more truly democratic than those of most children. They know whom they like and they know why they like them. They know whom they trust and why they are trustful, and equally they know whom they distrust and whom they dislike, and in some cases the feeling is bitter.

Yet as adolescents they pass into a new phase, and begin to find themselves in a new relationship to life. With amazing speed they forget the criteria which they as children applied to adulthood and begin in the most surprising way to ape the attitudes of the very adults whom they previously analyzed so keenly. The child who resented the hollow superiority of a vacant-minded adult may begin to deal with younger children with much that same superiority. The disciplines which they as children resented, as budding adults they tend to impose on younger children. The lies which as children they saw through and resented, as young adults they themselves begin to tell to younger children. It is as if a curtain were suddenly drawn across the period of childhood beyond which adulthood was unable to penetrate, despite the recency of its own childhood.

It is hard on teachers and parents that this should be so. After all, if there is one thing needed on the part of those who deal with children, it is the ability to understand children. But the phenomenon is one which does not stop here. The teacher who recognizes and resents favoritism, injustice, lack of sympathy and understanding, and a domineering attitude upon the part of persons in a superior position—such as principals, supervisors or superintendents—has an amazing tendency to metamorphose into just that kind of supervisory official. Somehow or other, instead of recognizing these disliked tendencies as something to be avoided at all costs, and seeking to develop the opposite characteristics, the individual who most keenly resents such attitudes appears most likely to pay them the compliment of imitation, given the opportunity to do so.

There does not appear to be any sure correction for this unfortunate phenomenon. Christ expressed in simple terms the most likely antidote when he advised us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. That was almost 2,000 years ago and his contribution was not unique, for Buddha, Mohammed, and Confucius expressed a similar idea in slightly different phraseology. It might almost seem presumptuous to attempt again to express the idea in other words, except for the fact that in this simple form, it apparently has failed to convey its obvious meaning to many people. Yet it should be abundantly clear that if we hate someone because of an attitude or action which we believe to be unjust, others will resent similar actions upon our part. It would probably be a good idea for each of us to make note every time someone older than ourselves, or someone in a position of administrative or supervisory responsibility over us does something which we particularly dislike or resent, and then make a point to see to it that whatever else we do, we shan't be guilty of that particular fault ourselves.

To help in building a pattern of conduct for ourselves it may prove helpful to try to throw our own imaginations back into our youth, or our previous status, in an attempt to recall the emotional response with which we ourselves greeted certain kinds of action on the part of others.

We would probably be wiser in each instance, not to pattern our adulthood on the adults we find about us, but on the adults whom we as children loved, admired, and respected. And as we climb up the ladder of increased responsibility in our job, pattern ourselves not after the hard-boiled taskmaster whom we as subordinates hated, but on the intelligent, understanding and sympathetic guides whose visits we welcomed, whose advice we found helpful, and upon whose understanding we could always count.

2. GOOD WILL AN ASSET

WHO has not seen emblazoned across the front of some store, hotel, or restaurant an announcement that a new owner has taken possession, often couched in somewhat the following terms: "This establishment has changed hands and will hereafter be conducted as a first-class institution." The man who had the sign painted was probably so full of his plans for the future that he was oblivious to the implied criticism of his predecessor. By his actions, however, he was in danger of ignoring the immeasurable but nevertheless very realistic value of good will. Every business, of course, possesses its accustomed patrons—those who for some reason or other prefer to do business with the concern. This good will is sometimes created through advertising, but more often through the quality of service rendered. It sometimes happens that the good will is not adequate to pay expenses, yet any new management taking over a going concern counts on being able to retain a large volume of existing business while building up the good will necessary to increase the number of customers. It is very seldom that the good will is so slight that it can be ignored or that the ill will which may have been accumulated by the prior management is so great that a complete break with the past is necessary before a fresh start can be made.

A parallel can be drawn between a business which is changing hands and a job which is changing hands. Any man or woman employed in almost any capacity has managed to build up a certain amount of good will. It is seldom that anyone is so inefficient or so personally obnoxious that he has failed to make friends and persuade at least a reasonable portion of these friends that he is personally competent. A new man taking his place inevitably faces a certain amount of resistance upon the part of these friends. They are loyal to their former associate, and they are to that extent friendly to his way of doing things. A new man taking his place is disappointing, if for no other reason than that his appearance, his tone of voice, and his methods of thinking are inevitably bound to be different and may differ in a disappointing or unpleasant manner.

When the newcomer, ignoring these immediate handicaps, proceeds to make it clear that from now on the "business" is going to be operated as a *first-class* establishment, he builds himself further gratuitous handicaps. He offends the friends, be they many or few, of his predecessor. Frequently, their passive discomfort at adjusting to a new personality is stung into active criticism or even animosity. His subordinates, if there be any, who were subordinate also to the predecessor, are outraged even though they may not have liked their previous employer or his methods. If they have been good employees, they have felt a reasonable degree of loyalty to the man with whom they worked. More than that they have inevitably come to identify themselves with the policies and methods of procedure which characterized the previous incumbent. Therefore, a criticism implied or expressed, of these policies or these practices is not limited to an individual but spreads until it includes all of those who have shared either in the formulation of the policy or its execution.

New or improved procedures which might have been introduced and accepted on their merits may be opposed because a psychological barrier to their acceptance has been set up. To accept these changes would imply an acknowledgment of error or incompetency. Even though the employee may have recognized the unwisdom or the error of previous practices and at times may have recommended or longed for modifications of the type now suggested, his loyalties have become involved, and in defense of himself and his former associate he finds himself impelled to a defense of the older and less satisfactory procedure.

Even in a job where the newcomer is practically alone, such as that of the day school teacher in a one-room school, it will be found that the children and their parents have given respect and loyalty to the previous teacher, even though they disliked him. A certain prestige attaches to the position and has been transmitted to the man who held it. Criticism or condemnation of such an individual extends not only to the man himself but to the job which he occupied and to the agency which he represented, and after all, is such condemnation necessary?

If your predecessor worked in a room which was dirty and unkempt, why is it necessary to say so? By cleaning it up and maintaining it in a new and improved condition, such criticism as need be made has been made. If the new condition is an improvement, the improvement will be self-evident. If the man whom you replace has been a unit in an organization, his bad points as well as his good points have been evident to his associates. The natural loyalties referred to above strengthen the recollection of his good points. If you are able and efficient enough to do well the things that he did ill, to plan and organize effectively where he was ineffective, if you are considerate where he was inconsiderate, if you are sympathetic where he was unsympathetic, if you can contribute to the self-esteem and dignity of your associates by inviting them to share in your planning and participate in your successes, you will begin to win for yourself esteem and prestige far greater than that enjoyed by the man whose place you took, without in any way detracting from his prestige.

A man's subordinates are frequently his friendliest and at the same moment his most severe critics. They may be willing to defend him with their lives while at the same time they would cheerfully undertake to make him over. A successor therefore who wishes to accomplish change with a minimum of opposition might frequently demonstrate his wisdom by inviting a group of subordinates to advise with him regarding needed or desirable changes or modifications in procedure. Out of such discussion will often come concrete recommendations which have been boiling around in the heads of the employees for some time and once a discussion of desirable change is broached, the way becomes open to suggest other procedures which one would like to have considered. All of this takes time, of course, but one must recognize that time is the essence of successful and constructive change.

3. FACE SAVING

ALL who are familiar with the Orient either through personal contact or through report are familiar with the phenomenon of "face saving." In an exaggerated degree both the Chinese and the Japanese find it difficult to confess error. To an almost fantastic extent a man must be right, or at least be able to preserve the appearance of being right. To a person of a different culture which permits the acknowledgment of error to be more easily made, face saving formulas sometimes appear grotesque. Everyone knows that a mistake has been made; everyone knows that the person who has been responsible for the mistake recognizes his error, and yet in order to "save face" a palpable fiction is concocted by the one who was right and accepted by the one who was wrong, which permits a graceful retreat.

Nobody is fooled, but the record is clear and the successful individual has the result of his success. As a balm to damaged pride or hurt feelings the arrangement has certain very commendable features.

At the other extreme in the scale we sometimes think of the Teutonic peoples who appear to possess an equally exaggerated need to exalt themselves through the abject submission of their opponents. Looked at in broad racial terms both exaggerations of self-importance appear almost ridiculous to an outsider who considers himself free from either necessity. However, both of these phenomena are manifestations of tendencies which are present in all of us.

Our school classrooms and our homes are the daily scene of conflict, tempered in part by these same psychological phenomena. Many parents and teachers fear for their prestige if they confess to having made an error. Frequently with them as with the more notorious practitioners of both face saving and tyranny, the step from face saving to tyrannical self-assertion is only a brief one. One who finds himself in the wrong and fears that acknowledgment will jeopardize his prestige, frequently pushes unreasonably for an outward acceptance of his position. Almost everyone has experienced the teacher who, caught in a palpable error, humiliates the pupil who had the audacity to detect the mistake. The action of this teacher was dictated by an inner need to cover up his own error. This was accomplished, at least to his own satisfaction, by the abject submission of the individual who had caused his discomfiture.

The records of the Indian Service are filled with instances of this phenomenon. Time after time Army officers, and later civilian administrators, have been placed in the position of suppressing the revolt of Indians brought on by a normal resentment of injustice practiced by some White man in violation of previous undertakings and to his own personal gain. In putting down the Indians, the leader of the White forces frequently betrayed the same phenomenon as the teacher. Although we now recognize the weakness of the government's case and the justice in the Indians' resentment, the Indians were not only punished but often publicly humiliated.

As the relationship between the races has reached a point where the average White man no longer fears the Indian, the need for this kind of self-assertion has tended to disappear. On the whole we now negotiate with Indians as man to man, rather than as victor to vanquished, tyrant to abject subject. However, many Whites have still to learn the courtesy of the face saving gesture. After all, teachers teach in order to offer wise guidance and leadership. Regulations are established as the best apparent means to accomplish a desired end. The end is the important thing, not the means by which it is accomplished.

It is clearly recognized that we all make mistakes. There is a human quality, appreciated by all, in acknowledging that no one of us is totally free from error. It is dangerous to adopt the pose of infallibility. One who assumes to be always right is indeed in an embarrassing position when forced to confess a mistake. It is much safer and more convenient to remain on the level of common humanity, and potentially capable of error. Error confessed and redressed in life, as in religion, frequently leads to its own absolution.

Teachers who approach their work in the spirit of mutual exploration, sharing with children the planning of their research, seeking with them the answers to the inquiries which they pursue, making and discovering common mistakes, build up a spirit of sympathetic understanding with their pupils that can never occur between the omniscient teacher and his charges. Similarly, those representatives of the Indian Service in direct contact with the Indian will frequently find their positions strengthened if they will undertake to understand the culture complex back of Indian behavior, with an eye to finding a formula which may permit the graceful acceptance of the spirit of regulations while permitting a local interpretation which is face saving to the group. Several examples in point may be cited:

Reading between the lines of a recent discussion with an Indian tribe regarding school attendance, it became clear that a majority of the Indians were exceedingly anxious to have their children all in school. However, certain tribal customs appeared to stand in the way of carrying out their desire. A number of children were being kept away from school out of respect for these customs. Some years before, the tribe had made an agreement with the federal government by which it undertook to conform to regulations emanating from Washington. No tribal representative could make an outright statement, but it soon became apparent that written instructions were desired from Washington to the reservation superintendent, demanding that all children be placed in school and instructing him to bring pressure on nonconforming families. No resistance was intended—everybody wanted his children in school—but some kind of a working arrangement was needed which would permit these people to do what they wanted to and yet maintain their loyalty to old traditions. Once this was understood, the necessary document was furnished, and public announcement of the fact was made. The reservation principal made a social call on each of the families withholding children from school. This call was accepted as the necessary step toward enforcement, and the children cheerfully reported to school.

A slightly more bizzarre story comes to us from one of the Dutch colonial possessions where the Netherlands administration was dealing with a group of ex-head hunters. The Dutch governor encountered difficulty in enforcing the edicts against head hunting because social custom demanded that a young man when courting demonstrate his fitness for the hand of the young lady by bringing her father a severed human head to prove his prowess. No young man could get a girl without a head. Investigating the custom, the governor discovered to his surprise, that there weren't any particular rules with regard to the recency of the head. Any head would do, and there weren't any particular restrictions either as to how the head was acquired. So the governor installed a pickled head in a glass jar in the government offices, which could be borrowed at any time by a young man to further his courtship. The head having been properly displayed, the prowess of the young man was established, and the jar and contents were carefully returned to the office to serve a similar purpose for the next young swain.

White culture is full of similar formulas by which ancient customs are adapted to modern advances. Face saving after all is only a gesture of consideration for others. When Grant restored his sword to General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox it was a gracious courtesy, applauded by all.

Indians are particularly sensitive to "face." Remembrance of that fact should aid us to be particularly courteous in our dealings with them.

4. LEADERS NEED SUPPORT

DURING the time when we've been growing up, most of us have experienced the frustration involved in "taking orders." This or that has been decided for us and we've been allowed no share in the decision. Often we have felt that the decision was unfair or failed to take into consideration "our side" of the question, and yet have been rebuked for giving expression to such feelings or have been refused an explanation when we've wanted to know why a thing had been ordered. Like the Light Brigade at Balaklava, it was ours "Not to make reply, (ours) not to reason why, (ours) but to do," and through the years our resentment has intensified and we have longed for the time when we'd grow up and acquire a status which would permit *us* to do the ordering for awhile.

Looking back over it all, our minds carry a clear impress of the many times when orders from above were wrong and we knew it—times when lots of trouble could have been saved if we'd been consulted or even allowed to offer a suggestion. Sometimes our developing resentment has left a feeling of almost sadistic pleasure at the thought of what a "bust" the fellow giving orders made because he didn't stop and consult. Most of the time our residue of feeling is regretful that the mistakes weren't corrected, when it would have taken such a little bit of consultation to set things right.

Being right down at the "grass roots" as it were, we knew things that our fathers or teachers or employers didn't know and were in too much of a hurry to stop and find out. Well, we thought, some day we ourselves will be parents or bosses or occupy a position *where we can do a little ordering around ourselves!*

In that one phrase, "do a little ordering around ourselves" is the crux of the whole difficulty. The frustrations we have suffered often develop in us an exaggerated sense of the blocking we have experienced and the intensity of that feeling has swept aside a recognition of the fact that where the parent, the teacher or the employer made *his mistakes* was in ignoring the interest and the intelligence of the children or the less responsible employees.

No one person can have all the facts, no one interpretation of the facts is likely to be faultless. No man, regardless of the importance of his position or the power he wields, can afford to assume that he knows it all or can safely "give orders" in disregard of the knowledge, the interest and the judgment of his subordinates.

In our youth, we were no wiser than other youths. In disregarding us, our elders were not committing an error peculiar alone to us. They were disregarding a principle underlying successful human relationships. They were depriving themselves of a source of interested information and failing to capitalize on our intelligence to avoid making mistakes and to get a job done with enthusiasm and esprit de corps.

As we ourselves grew in maturity and responsibility we needed increased opportunity to exercise our intelligence, getting out from under the domination of those who had frustrated us. More important, we now need to remember that while doing a little dictating on our own may be some recompense for our own youthful feelings, it is a pretty dumb performance from the standpoint of good administration. The moment we begin making decisions and issuing "orders," we deprive ourselves of the knowledge and the judgment of other young ones who have as much to contribute as we ourselves once had. Automatically we lay ourselves open to the same kind of mistakes of knowledge and judgment that we used to see earlier autocrats making. Automatically we arouse resentment on the part of those we disregard, creating in them the sense of frustration we ourselves once experienced.

By being bossy ourselves, when we get the chance, we may be compensating for what we have suffered, but we're not showing intelligence. We all like to assume that human beings are creatures of intelligence and that they learn by experience to avoid mistakes, but the moment we begin to "assert our importance" because we're in a position to do so, we disprove that assumption.

Whether we're bossy to the hired help, to our own children, to agency employees, or to a whole nation, makes no difference. Every one of us, in his own lifetime has experienced and resented the bossiness of those above him. While he may have envied them the power which they were exercising, he learned at the same time that such people make grave mistakes and alienate those upon whose loyalty they must ultimately depend. Making administration a consultative matter is not only good for the subordinate, it is the only guarantee the administrator has that the jobs for which he is responsible will be intelligently, willingly, loyally and wisely done.

5. CHANGING ONE'S MIND

MAKING a decision is a grave responsibility. At best, it involves a conscientious effort to accumulate all available facts, and reach a conclusion in the light of the evidence. At worst, it is nothing more than a guess, buttressed by prejudice or self-interest.

For centuries, most human decisions were of the worst kind, for fact gathering facilities were few and techniques were primitive. The ability to observe objectively and without prejudice was almost unknown in an earlier age—is found infrequently today. There was also a tendency to confuse objectivity which conflicted with conventional morality as sinful and to be avoided or condemned.

As most decisions of this earlier age were based on guess-work or "hunch," backed by prejudice, the man who made them had none of the assurance of today's scientifically trained technician that his decisions were right, and that they could be defended by a battery of facts. His critics, however, were usually fully as lacking in evidence to support their criticisms, so that the chief requirement for winning an argument, lay in "standing pat" and refusing, once the decision had been made, to reconsider.

Men who could make up their minds, and stick by their decisions, were thought of as "strong characters" and earlier success stories tended to glamorize them. Such favorable "propaganda" held up the strong man as one to emulate, and he became the ideal of countless small boys, who in their turn strove to continue the breed. This was not a unique phenomenon, but the recognized procedure by which a society endeavors to perpetuate itself. The chivalrous knight, the man of piety, the scholar, the professional man, and the hardfisted business man have each enjoyed an era of idealization.

A new era always finds itself confused by the hold-over stereotypes of preceding ages. While objectivity is gaining converts because it tends to reduce errors and wrong decisions, it is still battling with the strong-willed men of the last generation who have been taught by their childhood heroes that a confession of uncertainty is an acknowledgment of weakness—the thing they fear most of all.

This is not to minimize the part which faith has played in the spiritual improvement of the race. However, there is plenty of historic evidence that faith often has been blind, and has accepted leadership toward disaster as often as toward salvation. Facts, laboriously assembled, have enabled mankind to control epidemics and destroy the fearsome spectre of the great plagues which swept the earth, century after century. Those who burned myrrh, slept with closed windows to keep out the miasmic vapors, or carried rabbits' feet died with the rest, despite their convictions or their faith.

With the new acceptance of facts as guides to decision, has appeared a new attitude toward confessions of ignorance and toward willingness to modify a decision. Today it is becoming increasingly an evidence of wisdom, for a man to acknowledge his ignorance, when it exists—and to proceed to remove it by a study of available facts, and if necessary, to inaugurate research to obtain more facts. In the same way the enlightened administrator, or leader, maintains a willingness to review his decisions in the light of the facts, and revise them when new evidence demands revision.

The man who confesses to himself that a decision would have been different had he been in possession of all the facts when he made it, and yet refuses to modify his judgment or even reverse himself, is a coward, seeking to establish his "strength of character" by an outworn and medieval pattern.

The belief that a confession of error is a sign of weakness, liable to undermine the prestige of a person in authority, is a fallacy. No person is free from mistakes, and nobody who makes mistakes can keep his associates in ignorance of them. All the stubborn, hard-headed, prideful self-deceit in the world, cannot hide an error. The attempt to hide it can only shake the confidence of people who must depend on one's judgment.

Who wants to go to a doctor, who after diagnosing a stomach ache as appendicitis, operates anyhow in support of his diagnosis? Who can be expected to continue trusting a teacher who refuses to acknowledge an error when contradicted by the dictionary or encyclopedia? Who will follow an officer with confidence who leads his men to disaster, in the face of adequate warnings?

The man who jumps to conclusions in the absence of facts, the man who pretends to omniscience in the face of his own ignorance, or the man who lacks the courage to change his mind in the face of new evidence is not only an "outworn model," he is positively a danger to society.

It does not require psychological analysis to prove that error acknowledged and corrected is the keystone of confidence. Any man can verify this statement by a critical review of his own youth. The men and women who win the loyalty of children are those who aren't afraid to say, "I don't know but I can find out," "I was wrong about that—I have found this to be true," "I was unjust to you yesterday, because I didn't know the facts. Now I know them, I am sorry." Youth recognizes such statements as indexes of courage and strength, and respects those who use them when necessary. If you have not completely effaced the memories of your own youth, they will testify that this is true. When tempted to bluff, or to stand your ground in the face of your own mistakes, look at yourself through the eyes of your own youth and recognize the weakness of your own position.

The first mistake is to act without facts—the second and greater mistake is to refuse to rectify an error in the light of evidence.

6. GROUP COOPERATION

IF YOU were a principal of an ordinary American public school interested in securing local support for your educational program, your thoughts would probably turn to the parent-teacher association or some group or series of influential individuals whose sympathy toward your proposals would carry weight with the community. If your community were a cosmopolitan one in which a variety of racial groups were represented, and if there were a number of factories in which labor was organized, all of these facts would be taken into consideration. Your mind would turn toward certain prominent professional men—doctors, lawyers, bankers, and possibly educators not connected with the public school system—certain prominent politicians, labor leaders, active leaders in women's clubs, church organizations, and luncheon clubs each of whom might be expected to influence the thinking of numberless friends or associates.

In the same way you would invite prominent Poles, Irish, Jews, and Italians, to cooperate, provided large groups of these races lived in the community. You probably wouldn't make any public announcement to the effect that you chose them because of their race. You probably wouldn't even tell Mr. Julius Cohen himself that he was asked to serve because he was a wealthy Jewish jeweler recognized as a spokesman of his racial group. You would invite him "because he was a substantial citizen of the community whose judgment was much valued by all."

You might be a little more frank in selecting your representatives of organized labor, because organized labor has established a habit of requesting or even demanding representation. You might even tell leaders of the American Legion, the D. A. R., and the Rotary Club, that they were selected because of their affiliation. Organizations of that type thrive on such recognition and publicity. But you probably wouldn't tell the leading lawyer that he had been selected because of his remarkable success as a criminal lawyer, or a corporation counsel.

Regardless of what you said publicly or privately about your selections, all of the above factors would need to be taken into consideration. Your selections also would have to represent a wise combination of the available leaders so that personal clashes between them would not defeat your program. It is doubtful whether these suggestions are new or novel to anyone who has had any experience in organizing anything from a church social to a political campaign.

The strange thing is that despite one's knowledge of these rudiments of successful community organization as they appear in American life, one frequently loses sight of them when transferred to a similar school on an Indian reservation. It is true of course, that many teachers do not participate actively in the community life of the Indian group. They are busy, much concerned with their own activities, desirous of using their spare time for reading or visiting with other White people within reach and unconsciously inclined to feel themselves cut off from any mutuality of interest with the Indian families whose children they are teaching.

In a White community they would feel quite at home in visiting the parents of their school children. In all probability parents and teacher would have read the same morning newspaper and would betray a common interest in any one of a dozen topics of the day which would furnish a comfortable conversational basis upon which to get acquainted. Coming into an Indian community, many have a feeling of insecurity in appoaching the Indian home. They find themselves at a loss for "small talk." The feeling of insecurity in personal relationships would apply just as much in any community where two distinctly different cultures are in contact.

Whites in China are just as uneasy in social relationships even after a period of adjustment. The more cosmopolitan White man may find himself superficially at ease with the more cosmopolitan and cultured Chinese, but he would be at a loss if absorbed into the family small talk. Nora Waln in her volume "The House of Exile" describes the difficulties which she encountered in fitting into a Chinese home. After the better part of a lifetime of mutual effort to become one of them, she concludes that her endeavor was not wholly successful.

As a result of this feeling of strangeness it is easy to forget that, after all, Indians are people, and they have the kinds of family and community social groups that Whites do.

To the modern American who allows his business activity to move him from one side of the continent to the other with little regret, the persistence of group relationship among Indian tribes is a little difficult to understand. Because easy transplantation and the making of new friendships have become a pattern of national life, one forgets that the European races from which the Whites sprung have similar patterns of persistent group association to those typical of the American Indian. It is the American Whites who have traced a new pattern in terms of an expanding continent and ever widening frontier.

Among the Sioux these primary groups are known as Tioshpai. The Tioshpai undoubtedly stem back to family groups and in terms of an earlier discussion of "ingroup," may be accepted as a primary ingroup. While these Indians have broader loyalties to bands or tribes for which the Tioshpai is the basic unit, and recognize a racial unity between all Dakota Indians, these loyalties are secondary to those binding the members of the Tioshpai together

Among the Creeks the grouping is the "town." Many of these towns are subgroups, owing allegiance to parent towns. As their numbers increased, the older towns subdivided and new towns appeared. Between the members of these newer units and the members of the parent town, there exist closer bonds of loyalty, than between the members of towns not thus related. Similar groupings of parent towns and their off-shoot towns also exist among the Papago. Among other tribes these unitary divisions follow along other lines, not less strong.

But whatever these groupings may be, whether they take one of the forms indicated above or whether they follow the pattern of the modern American community in which sympathetic groups are attracted because of similarities in racial origin, economic status, business relationships, or similar commonality of interest, Indian communities do have social groupings. The successful integration of these groupings on behalf of school or extension activity or credit unions depends upon a recognition of these interest groups and the wise invitation to their leaders to cooperate in the laying of plans, in the same way that one would seek the cooperation of similar leaders in a White community. This, of course, will involve much more intimate community contacts than have been customary on the part of many Indian Service employees, for it is only through such intimate relationship with the community that one is in a position to judge who the real leaders are.

One must not make the mistake of assuming that school buildings are in the center of natural communities. Chance has probably placed many of them at points where they serve parts of several mutually jealous Tiosphai or towns. The American habit of drawing lines between administrative divisions in arbitrary disregard of such natural features as mountain ranges and rivers, increases the likelihood that natural social groupings of the people have been similarly disregarded. Let us study the conditions which now exist when planning future occasions for community cooperation. And remember that the natural Indian leaders may be the older men who do not speak English—and avoid too much dependence upon glib English-speaking younger men unless there is evidence that these men possess the sympathetic understanding of the older leadership.

7. FITTING EDUCATION TO LIFE

EDUCATION by a broad definition of the word means preparation to live. To live is to enjoy and participate in the society and culture of one's own group as well as to make a living. One must devote a reasonable, if not a large, proportion of one's time to obtaining food, clothing and shelter, but to live for that alone is merely to exist. Just what form the desirable life and making a living take, depend upon the customs, the society, the language and the resources of the group to which a person belongs.

The opportunities and satisfactions of life, for example, are not the same for persons born to the ancestor-worshiping family of a Chinese farmer, a fishing and farming family of a South Sea Islander, or a family of rural Christian Americans. Also the preparation of young people to work and live in these diverse families and their diverse societies cannot be and is not the same.

For each family, natural resources and traditional methods of work determine how one learns to make a living. Local family and community organization determines how a child is trained to cooperate with others. Among the families cited, the Chinese child joins a tightly organized family unit, bent on honoring male forebears and continuing the male line and property; the South Sea Islander joins a large kinship group and a village community, both having a well-established system of sharing labor and distributing the products of labor; the rural American joins an individualistic family that expects most of the children to leave the family group in time, and live in their own homes and on their own lands. The societies in which each of these three families operate have different codes of etiquette, different attitudes toward the position of women and different divisions of labor between the sexes. In fact, the whole field of social, economic and religious habits, which we call customs, reveals these differences and only by learning that set which his group practices or believes, does the child become truly educated for making a living and for living.

The necessity for differences in education for the different cultures is obvious, yet a parallel situation among the American Indians is often forgotten and has in the past been greatly neglected. We have today, Indians of Plains culture, Pueblo culture, Woodland culture and so on, and Indians who are agricultural or non-agricultural people, hunting people or pastoral people, desert people or mountain people, Arctic people, village dwellers and semi-nomads. The reasons for neglect of their differences are many. The chief reason has been that in the past, White people in the government and out, were convinced that to make the Indians like ourselves was the only objective of Indian education and Indian administration. In other words, it was taken for granted that our customs and our goals of life were the only desirable ones. Civilization offered everything, primitive life nothing. Furthermore, we knew little of Indian life and customs, and by the use of the one word Indian to designate all the many different aboriginal peoples of the Americas we contributed to the erroneous impression that all Indian peoples are alike, which they are not. The word has made us disregard the significance of the words Kiowa, Hopi, Paiute, or Papago.

The conclusion to this is not that we should return to tribal education, make the Kiowa, Kiowa, or the Hopi, Hopi, or "keep the Indian down" as many critics interpret the recognition of those things which function and have meaning in contemporary Indian life. We could not, if we wished, return to a purely tribal education, for the Amerind no longer lives completely in his own culture. He lives as a minority group in the general American society. Except for those who are completely assimilated in the White population, an Indian lives economically and socially by Indian custom partly, and by American custom partly. He also lives among environments on reservations or in Indian communities, whose variety is known to any one who knows the variety of land, climate and resources of the United States, not to mention Alaska. Indian education should, however, be a training in terms of present day Indian group environment, both social and economic, and in terms of the American life in which each group lives. It is a training for an adjustment to two societies, that should begin with the specific type of Indian life and the degree of acculturation to White life in the group from which each student is drawn.

The diversity of the problems facing Indian education has been met to a large measure by the community day schools. Yet the function of these schools will largely fail, if the teachers are not fully aware and informed of the particular life, resources and needs of advancement of the particular group to which their students belong, and are not conscious of their own function as guides to successful living in two societies and catalysts assisting in their proper blending. This problem is far more difficult for the teachers of non-reservation boarding schools, where students represent many tribes and cultures.

To make the problem of the boarding school clearer, let us take, for example, the position of the Phoenix Indian School where a praiseworthy attempt has already been made to meet the problem by organizing primary grades by tribal groups. The student body is drawn mainly from eleven Arizona tribes. They represent native agricultural, pastoral, hunting, seed-gathering peoples whose original economies, societies and life aims differ as widely as Chinese, South Sea Islanders and rural Americans. Most of them have maintained their native culture to a greater extent than tribes outside the Southwest. They are on reservations where land resources and climate vary from desert conditions, to semi-arid plains, to well-watered meadows and woodlands.

The school has to educate, therefore, not Indians of a common background, but sheep-raising Navaho, who must learn to utilize and conserve their ranges for an unlimited future; village dwelling Hopi, whose culture is better adapted to simple mesa and desert living than anything Whites have yet devised, but who need to understand White technical and health advancements which can be adapted to their present society; Apache whose now suppressed semi-nomadic and raiding habits have left their lives empty of the old satisfactions, and who must change from the hunting of wild animals to the raising domesticated animals; Papago, who must adjust a rapidly increasing population and cattle industry to restricted and eroded lands by new methods of irrigation and cultivation; Pima, once subsistence farmers who are now faced with great commercial farming opportunities and an efficient and technically advanced irrigation system; Colorado River tribes, who practiced originally very little, if any, agriculture, and were the least advanced in cultural development of Arizona Indians, and suffered more from encroachment of White civilization, and yet are now living in a semi-parasitic dependence on this civilization. Each of these groups has its own system of social relationship and social controls, by which it maintains its group as well as carries on its economic system. Each has met White civilization in its own way, improving its life with what it has selected from general White culture, or finding social and personal disorganization as the result of economic change.

Boys and girls with these differences in life problems, different environments and societies cannot enter into a single curriculum equally, nor derive equal benefit from it. They must commence education with the home and educational experience they bring to school, and progress along lines which will prepare them, when they leave school, for easy integration with both Indian and White society. Land utilization and land management, the potentiality of resources, irrigation methods, cattle and crop economies, soil, climate, housing, home management, local foods, arts and crafts, native social organization, family, clan and tribal cooperation, new tribal and district councils, native political systems, medical practices and health needs, Indian Service and reservation administration, cooperation with other government divisions, living by home resources or by wage work in industry, native ceremonies, White society of the reservation, town and state, the improvement of native life by adopting advancements of American life, cultural progress and change in the tribe, population problems and social adjustments and maladjustments, should all be subjects of study for every Indian being educated. They are part of the study of the whole environment, but the problems are also distinct for each tribe or each reservation, and should be studied as such.

Non-reservation schools are limited by plant and resources and cannot duplicate the same, or construct an improved environment, for each student group. The teachers can, however, produce in the content of their courses, information and activities that give a realistic and applicable education for each tribal group. Whether the material for this information is presented to students classed by tribes, or covered by each teacher in his or her specialized classes for all reservations represented, is a matter for school faculties to decide. To face the background of specific reservations and tribal economies and societies, instead of assuming a generalized Indian background or generalized American one, is the most practical approach to providing the adjustment and success in modern life, that both Indians and interested Americans desire.

8. WHAT KIND OF A PERSON ARE YOU?

ANY GROUP of people may be roughly classified by its attitude toward work. There is always the small minority that is losing its grip. Its difficulties are usually largely psychological. Somewhere in their past, individuals in this minority group have developed a feeling of persecution. Whatever they are asked to do is unreasonable or excessive. They are continuously unwilling to do their best or even to live up to normal responsibilities which fall upon them, because they imagine that somebody else is taking advantage of them. They therefore feel it necessary to assert their independence or "get even." With most people of this type a psychological "slow-down" appears to occur. Less than the normal amount of work is done, or the quality of work is less than might be expected. Reproofs which are well justified because speed and quality have fallen off are deeply resented and the individual feels further need "to get even" with his boss or with society in general. A sense of abuse leads to deliberate slackening; the resultant poor work evokes a rebuke; the rebuke increases resentment, leading to further slackening—and a vicious circle has been set up. How to apply a healthy shock which will bring into the individual's consciousness a recognition of his own mistakes and wholehearted willingness to apply himself to their correction is difficult to determine. So the individual begins a steady spiral of deterioration and personal unhappiness.

The second group is made up of those who have "arrived," so far as they themselves are concerned. After a period of youthful training, the individuals in this second and largest group have learned how to do certain things for which there is a demand, and as a result have secured a job. By continuing to perform this skill, whatever it be, they have secured food, clothing, and shelter for themselves and their dependents. The work which they do is not very exciting to them, it doesn't appear very vital, and they have established a habitual rate of performance. Left alone, the more conscientious ones will perform at this rate and with average efficiency, with a minimum of supervision. If the supervision is increased, the rate of performance of some of these workers can be increased, for there are always some who, left to themselves, will deteriorate. The drudgery of the world is performed by this second group, and the healthier, more intelligent and better natured of the group do much of the world's work. However, they put so little of themselves into what they do that their work quickly becomes boring or uninteresting and is something which they endure in anticipation of the free time which their employment purchases for them.

Above this average, one finds a third but much smaller group. This group contains the individuals who bring to their work imagination, interest, and ambition. Faced with a job to be done, these individuals are not satisfied to repeat the pattern which has been taught them, but seek to improve that pattern. Burdened with drudgery, they seek to devise a machine or a system by which to routinize the procedure, thus freeing their minds and ultimately their bodies for more vital activities. They are the ones who wish to understand what they are doing, so as to become masters of the job rather than its slaves. They are the ones who do not count the hours in the day which are devoted to the job, but are concerned with accomplishments, and count successful accomplishment justification enough for the time and energy which must be expended.

Which group you fall into rests largely with yourself. No employer ever found enough employees of group three to complete his staff. Every responsible administrator ultimately seeks to rid himself of the first type. It's pretty much up to you —where will you place yourself?

9. I CAN'T DO THAT

EVERYONE at some time or another is asked to do something new. It is only natural to hesitate when facing new and untried paths. What already has been done can be repeated with confidence —the unknown either provokes fear or challenges initiative. What does it do to you?

In an era of change when new needs are constantly appearing, the man or woman who is afraid to try something new is psychologically ready for a major defeat.

A generation ago it was a folk belief that people lost their ability to learn new things as they grew older. Thorndike and Pitkin have proved that no man (or woman) in full possession of his senses is ever too old to learn. Muscles are sometimes slow to acquire new skills, but the mind slows up very little until well past middle age.

The man (or woman) of value in any situation is the one who always wants to learn new ways or new facts. Haven't you met him? There is the baker who sets out to learn how to cook, who is curious to learn butchering, and who wants to know how to smoke or sugar cure meat, and has a host of new ambitions when those things are learned. Or there is the teacher of mathematics who wants to teach social studies or English.

During the depression the most depressing individuals encountered were those who simply said, "I teach Latin," "I am a carpenter" or in some other phrase set a limit to their abilities, accepting defeat, unemployment, and relief when the opportunity to do those specific things was no longer offered.

The constructive attitude would have been "I teach—" or "I build—and if the particular thing I have been doing is no longer needed, my potential skills are enough, with effort, training, or imagination, to fit me to do something (akin to my older work) which people now need to have done." Society may owe each man the opportunity to work—but it has the right to demand that what he does be socially useful.

In the trades the rapid shift in needed skills often leads to technological unemployment if workers lack flexibility. A machine is built to do the work of 500 men—and the men to gain re-employment must learn to run the machine or others similar to it. Nowadays retraining is relatively easy to secure.

It will be remembered that in the last century riots occurred and machines were smashed when factories found new and betters ways to perform manual tasks.

But such revolts didn't stop progress. And who of us today would urge that, in the long run, factories and machinery have not improved the living conditions of us all? Hours of labor have dropped like magic, real wages have increased, and more and more people have been employed, even though employment has not kept pace with the increase of those who want to work.

But the necessity for flexibility is still with us—needs are still changing, and progress is ruthless. The man who says "I don't know how to do that" and stops there, is his own worst enemy—he invites and accepts defeat. The man who says "I never *have* done that, but I'll start today to learn how" is in a fair way to making himself indispensable.

10. ANOTHER STRING TO YOUR BOW

AREN'T there lots of things you've always wanted to do? Sometimes things you'd rather do than the particular routine you find yourself in now? Well, why not begin to get yourself ready? The wise Indian hunter was the one with foresight enough to have two (or more) strings to his bow. If one broke, he wouldn't have to stop hunting and go home.

That is one advantage to having a hobby—something we enjoy doing so much we become skilled in its execution. The time may come when one can shift over and ride the hobby for a living.

Yet there are thousands of us who just kill time when we're off the job, instead of reading, or puttering around, making a second string for our own bow. There isn't one who reads this who hasn't some kind of an unsatisfied curiosity, which could furnish the basis for a new job, if he'd follow it up. But just plain laziness, cloaked with smooth and self-satisfying justifications, keeps us "jest a settin'" when we might be learning something new—or keeps us the same old poor cook, incompetent seamstress, ineffective handy man we were ten years ago.

There are books, there are schools, there are camps and work projects which will give us the needed start. And the pure fun of achievement ought to keep us going, provided we set ourselves a goal worth achieving. How about it? What's your hobby, or your second string going to be?

11. ROOM AT THE TOP

DURING the long period of depression in the '30's with millions out of work there was scarcely a school or a business that was not in need of skilled help and ready to pay for it. That appears paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true. True because of the unfortunate tendency of most people to be satisfied with "getting by" rather than determined to master their jobs, seeking each day to improve their own efficiency.

It is these easily satisfied people, who get bored with their jobs, or who begin to howl at the injustice or favoritism when promotion passes them by. Yet the year has never passed that personnel officers weren't driven distracted seeking for the competence which will justify greater responsibility,—and with increased responsibility goes promotion.

It has been the effort of the Education Division to develop a career service, in which the positions of greater responsibility are filled by advancing those who have learned the needs of the division through service in the ranks. Each year principalships and other supervisory jobs are seeking qualified, competent and imaginative employees and each year the active list of the teaching staff is canvassed for possible candidates.

Year after year an effort is made to describe the kind of educational program which is administratively desirable. Summer programs of in-service training are carefully planned to furnish the basic stimulus to the kind of personal preparation it is believed will meet these needs. Time after time it is pointed out that close and careful study of rural community needs is an essential to the type of program in which we are now interested; that narrow specialization in trade skills, or success in a limited traditional field of academic interest will not serve in the modern Indian school. Yet teacher after teacher at different salary levels is content to say, "I do this," or "I do that," regardless of its applicability to the program in hand—and then is surprised that his work is not appreciated and that promotions lag.

A canvass a year ago revealed that more than 90% of teachers who had received promotions during the last three years had made definite effort toward self-improvement, and although it was the first time that the correlation had been made, it was also found that more than 90% of Indian Service teachers who had attended two or more summer schools had received a promotion during that period.

For more than five years a great majority of the administrative vacancies occurring in the Education Division have been filled by the promotion of someone already within the Service.

It is therefore clear that the service is a professional body, that an underlying philosophy guides its developing program, and that ambitious and capable employees who will align themselves with that philosophy and fit themselves through careful conscientious preparation to give loyalty and service to that philosophy, may expect advancement.

And it should be equally evident that those who are too self-satisfied to make an effort or who are not in sympathy with the program will not receive the recognition reserved for those whose preparation and competence earn them preferment.

There is room at the top, today as always, for those who will work to get there, and those who are competent to serve there.

12. WHY DODGE FACTS?

THERE are an amazing number of people who go through life kidding themselves. They seem to believe that harm doesn't lie so much in an act as in the act becoming a matter of record. Most of us have met the wishful thinkers who, when confronted with an unpleasant statement of fact, urge us "to take it back" or unsay it. Whether the statement is true is seldom considered. Somehow or other the unsaying of the bitter truth is presumed to have the magic power to erase the bitter fact itself. An administrative officer encounters this type of thinking in the individual who is always anxious to "keep his record clear." Frequently this kind of individual, whether man or woman, is one whose normal actions are productive of dissatisfaction. As is only natural, such dissatisfaction inevitably finds its way into the files of any organization with which he is affiliated. When this fact becomes known to the individual, instead of making an effort to correct the fault, thereby setting up a favorable record which might ultimately outweigh the negative reports, a hysterical effort is made to expunge the unfavorable facts from the record. Such behavior is infantile and, of course, profitless to all concerned.

The average administrator, although it is his duty to report facts, has no time to waste writing pointless condemnations, neither is he impressed with demands for an alteration of a factual record in order to obscure the fact of incompetency. This psychological phenomenon is not mentioned because of any belief that these words can effect a change in the mental habits of adults who have so steeped themselves in self-deception. It is pertinent, however, because such adult attitudes are the outgrowth of childhood experiences. Seen early enough in youth the tendency can be corrected. A feeling of security can be established, by learning to face facts and confront truth, not bitterly, but as a matter of normal comfortable living.

Many individual attitudes are artificial and the result of a certain amount of play acting. Few of us have an inborn tendency to behave in any given way in the face of any situation. A few emotional reactions with their physical counterparts appear to be instinctive, but the vast majority are imitative. We do the thing we have seen others do and try to act our part according to a pattern which we have accepted as desirable. This is why the movies affect us so strongly—they tend to set a pattern for action in the face of many types of situations.

Walter Lippmann's recent tribute to Alexander Woollcott, who died late in January 1943, contains a paragraph which it might be well for us all to ponder:

"Alexander Woollcott, who was stricken during a radio broadcast on Saturday evening and died a few hours later, was quite well prepared for death. The last time I saw him, which was a few weeks ago, he talked about the correspondence which he carried on with his great friend, Alice Duer Miller, during her long illness, and of how much it had meant to her that with him, at least, she did not have to pretend that she was going to recover. It was evident that he wanted me to know that he would prefer to be treated that way himself."

How much unhappiness, how many heartaches could at least be minimized if we stopped kidding ourselves.

13. IT'S THE LITTLE THINGS

REMEMBER the saying, "For want of a nail, a shoe was lost; for want of a shoe, a horse was lost; for want of a horse, a king was lost; for want of a king, a cause was lost!"? While not so romantic, it might have been put, "For want of a screw, a hinge was lost; for want of a hinge, a door was broken" or "For want of a nut, a bolt was lost; for want of a bolt . . . . . . " you fill it out for yourself.

For want of a button on the front of his coat, John Jones failed to make a good impression on a prospective employer, and so failed to get a good new job. Because she didn't take time to stitch up the hem in her skirt, Mary Roe looked sloppy, and was passed over for promotion by a boss who wanted care and efficiency as characteristics of his higher priced employees. Yet how often these little things are neglected or forgotten.

Deterioration of property begins the moment little things are passed over. It isn't enough just to sweep a building or wash a window. Loose screws should be tightened and if the hole has grown too big, a filler of plastic wood used, or the hole rethreaded and a larger screw used.

Bent metal should be straightened, screens that have pulled loose should be tacked back in place. The list is endless, but in each instance, the neglect of the *little* thing leads to damage of larger things, till something of real value has been destroyed. Then the cost of replacement becomes an item that absorbs money which might better have been spent on something else.

Transcontinental bus lines plan to drive a big bus a million miles or more and many busses now in service have traveled almost twice that distance. For most of its useful life, few people would guess how far a bus had traveled. This is because the better companies check every detail at the end of every trip. Yet the average automobile owner is so careless of his car that it begins to look shabby at the end of 40 or 50 thousand miles, and he then begins to think of getting another.

The tri-motored Ford planes, no longer manufactured, with which the first transcontinental airline was initially equipped, have long disappeared from passenger service, but today are the backbone of air freight services from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. They were well built to begin with, and they have been continuously and carefully maintained.

Things that are clean, equipment or buildings that are in good condition, units of machinery that operate smoothly, evoke pride in those who use them. We are all more careful of the upholstery while it is spotless, hesitate to be the first to dirty the fresh paint, enjoy putting a polish on smooth brass or nickle plate, but when the stains or dirt or dents begin to appear we quickly take the attitude that a few more won't make any difference.

Some years ago, Rye Beach in Westchester County, New York, on Long Island Sound, was the site of a pleasure resort which was much "run down at the heel." Everything needed paint; the beach was covered with driftwood, charcoal and lunch scraps; the public toilets were filthy and their walls covered with obscenities. Respectable people hesitated to go there, even though the bathing was usually fine during much of the year. Then, in its development of the county park and highway system, the Westchester County Park Commission bought the old Rye Beach resort, wrecked it and built in its stead a clean, attractive, and modern amusement park.

The sand was sifted till it sparkled clean; all structures were freshly painted in bright attractive colors each season, flowers were planted beside the walks, the toilets were kept clean, trash baskets were set at convenient points, and attendants were instructed to keep the place clean. As a result, Playland today, two decades after its establishment, is as clean and attractive as the day it opened. Its patrons cooperate —unconsciously, many of them—in keeping it clean.

The beach is free of papers and lunch scraps, so each picnic party looks to see what becomes of newspapers and garbage, and sees nearby a clean and convenient container for its use. The man who finishes his last cigarette becomes uncomfortably aware that there are no discarded butts or wrappers on the board walk, but sees a trash container a few feet away and holds his paper till he reaches it, and then deposits it. The small boy or perverted adult, tempted to inscribe a smutty verse on the toilet stall, is confronted by a spotless wall and hesitates to be the first to mar it. This influence of environment controls nine out of ten visitors and for the tenth who scribbles or drops waste paper, there is some employee who makes it his business to remove the evidence *almost immediately*, for by keeping the place clean and orderly the Park Commission enlists the cooperation of the great majority of its patrons in maintaining it that way.

A school is just the same. A dormitory or classroom building that is clean, bright and orderly gains pupil respect that a disorderly building doesn't. And the employee effort required to keep a clean building clean is much less than that required merely to police a dirty or disorderly one. While a new structure is easier to maintain, it isn't newness, it's the care a building receives that gains it respect.

While talking about care, let us not forget ourselves. A workman may be expected to wear the work clothes of his craft while on the job, but when the dirty part of the job is over, there is no excuse for continuing to wallow in dirt. Some people appear to believe that cleaning up is something you do for somebody else, gained probably in their youth from parents who made it a point to "clean up for father," or "for church" or for some other extraneous purpose. That probably accounts for the girl who looks sweet enough to eat every time she appears in public—till she gets a husband. After that she putters around home in a Mother Hubbard wrapper, with her hair a mess and wearing stockings full of runs. She lacks the self-respect to keep herself decent at all times, and then is surprised and hurt when hubby looks twice at some girl who is nicely starched.

In the Indian Service it takes the form of letting oneself go when assigned to some remote station, where it's all in the family, and all the outsiders one is likely to see are natives. But it's dangerous to let down, for when one does, one lets go of something which should be an innate part of oneself. And neglecting to shave, wearing a soiled dress longer than necesary or living in a home that is disorderly and unclean, be it at the end of the world, or in the heart of civilization, is a mark of disintegration.

On a recent trip through Alaska, it was a joyful sight to drop out of the air at some out of the way post which did not know a supervisory visit impended and find flower bordered walks, bright house dresses, clean paint, and well ordered rooms. Many times employees were deep in the disposition of the year's supplies newly received, but the momentary disorder was apparently momentary. Around it all was a clean orderliness into which the new supplies were being organized, and those stations contrasted pleasurably with those that had "gone native" in the worst sense, —of having ceased to care. Alaska is quoted merely because the impressions are fresh, it might have been the Navaho or Pine Ridge. It has nothing to do with the expectation or lack of expectation of a supervisory visit, it is something which is part of the inner integrity of the individual. And it is something none of us can afford to lose.

14. WHY THE BOARDING SCHOOL FAILED

THE purpose of the earlier Indian schools was to civilize the Indian as rapidly as possible. The missionary and the military had found that the adult Indian clung tenaciously to his ways and his familiar haunts. If any marked change was to be brought about, it appeared that the children must be caught young, separated from their parents, and taught White ways.

Ignoring completely tribal differences, the infant representatives of hundreds of tribes were thrown together indiscriminately. The better to encourage the learning of English, the speaking of tribal languages was forbidden. The ban was enforced through corporal punishment — occasionally of a brutal type. Little children barely seven years old were torn from their parents, shipped sometimes thousands of miles from home, without understanding what it was all about, and then housed in vast ugly friendless dormitories where sixty to a hundred and more children shared a single room. Bathing and toilet facilities were (and sometimes still are) inconvenient and unsanitary.

Marched to meals, marched to classes, drilled in spare time to keep them out of mischief, boys and girls were frequently housed on the same campus, but in no sense of the word, "co-educated." Corporal punishment reminiscent of colonial school days was inflicted for even slight infractions of the rules. Thus did we undertake to "civilize" our wards—in an atmosphere which must have made the most primitive of Indian homes appear as paradise in comparison. That this earlier generation of Indian teachers accomplished anything by their procedures, is a tribute to the personalities of those rugged and honest souls amongst them who believed firmly in their objectives and "won souls despite their methods."

Not to be overly sentimental, imagine your own little six year old (if you have one) torn from you against your will and conveyed to Mexico or China; forbidden to speak English and among persons who talk a foreign tongue and to whom he could not make his wants known. Imagine all his inbred habits of dress, bathing, care of the hair, sleeping and eating violated. Picture him, as he begins to understand in some degree the speech of his captors, learning that everything that you, his parents, had taught him was wrong and vicious. Imagine him punished when he sought communion with the God you had taught him to love and trust. Imagine him at night, herded into bed in a vast, cheerless, colorless room with a hundred other motherless, homesick boys.

There is no need to push the contrast. Either you have allowed yourself to experience it in imagination or you haven't.

But our error didn't stop there. We kept the child—sometimes twelve long years, or more—and then, like as not, sent him back to his reservation to readjust into the tribal life. We jusified our action by assuming that an adolescent child could seriously modify the culture pattern of his adult group and could offer leadership to the tribe in its advance toward civilization. It didn't work, and we lamented his "reversion to the blanket," and the average American talked about the strangeness of the Indian who, after being introduced to the refinements of civilization, appeared to prefer his primitive and sometimes pagan ways.

In analyzing this situation, let us recognize that the Indian child had been away from his native culture most of his life. He returned to find himself alien to his family and his group. In a culture in which age is respected and youth must prove itself, his very strangeness to all that counted with the tribe, became a liability. He lacked the first necessities to tribal leadership: familiarity with custom, and the confidence of his people. The only possibility open to him if he were to remain with the group, or gain leadership, lay in identifying himself as rapidly as possible with the tribe. To do this, necessitated laying aside the habits of civilization and learning the habits of his people.

To make the situation more graphic, but

less serious than it actually was to the young Indian, just imagine your brother or son coming home from college and trying to remake the family habits. Listen to him criticize mother's cooking, father's car or business methods, big sister's makeup, and grandfather's evening toddy. How long would he be welcome, and how soon would he be told to shut-up and learn to get on with the family, or get out?

Many of our old Indian school graduates "went back to the blanket," and today, having gained positions of leadership, are influencing their people toward some of the American culture patterns which they feel are more desirable than the Indian way. Others were "lost to civilization."

Is this exaggeration? Probably not. Many of the statements are based on the reactions of older Indians to their own Indian school experiences. They have frequently stated the case even more vividly. Allowing for over-emphasis here or there, it should be apparent that because it ignored fundamental psychological and anthropological facts in the lives of our Indian children, the old boarding school was doomed to fail. Many of its objectives we now believe to have been wrong, but granted that the objectives might have been right, the set-up was calculated to defeat its own ends.

Fortunately, most of this is past history. Many of the boarding schools have gone. Many of the remaining non-reservation schools have reformulated their objectives. The children are now drawn from contiguous tribes, and usually return home during vacations. The reservation boarding school, to the extent that it still exists, has assumed a new purpose, keyed to the vocational needs of the pupil who will make his living through the successful exploitation of the resources of his own home reservation.

15. "LET US RAISE A STANDARD——"

THERE is a tendency on the part of most people to assume that the way in which human beings react in the face of danger, when they are in love, or when they are sad is an instinctive thing. As a matter of fact nothing could be further from the truth. We actually behave in face of any of these experiences as we have been taught to behave. The conviction that a certain pattern of action is the right or desirable one can bring about the most amazing physiological reactions.

For instance, we find the literature of Victorian England full of women who suffered from "the vapors." This was a peculiarity of "frail womankind" and lead them to faint in the face of any untoward emotional experience. It was womanly to faint and showed good breeding; therefore, all well bred women fainted. Gradually a new pattern of feminine behavior has supplanted the old one and the modern woman considers it a confession of weakness to faint under any circumstances. Some still do faint, but the normal individual tries to avoid it and usually succeeds.

The average American shakes hands with all and sundry. In other parts of the world a similar expression of greeting is accomplished by rubbing noses. Kissing, which we assume to be a very desirable manner in which to express affection, was totally unknown in many parts of the world until the ubiquitous American motion picture film began to illustrate various methods of making love.

We usually think of the home, the church, and the school as the educational institutions which are responsible for building character and citizenship. As a matter of fact all three together do not exert as much influence in forming many habits of modern youth as do the moving pictures, largely because home, church, and school studiously avoid discussing the details of how to get on with the other fellow; how to behave when out with a girl; how to make love; how to hold a girl when dancing and dozens of other things which each young person aspires to do in the accepted way. The moving pictures have no such sense of restraint, but illustrate down to the last detail just how all these things are done, and the effectiveness with which they teach their lesson is revealed in the behavior of the young people who have been in studious attendance at them. That is not to say that the other influences which have been mentioned need abdicate the field in favor of the motion picture. It simply means that if they wish to exert a competing influence they must be prepared to deal as frankly and as objectively with the problems in which young people have an interest.[1]

When any situation arises which is new to the people who are confronted with it, there is always a period during which a great deal of uncertainty exists as to what is the proper form of behavior. The leader or leaders who have the conviction and the courage to set forth a desirable pattern of behavior can, in many instances, determine the group response. In a 1943 column by Walter Lippmann, he quotes a phrase from George Washington who, during the Constitutional Convention when there was a great deal of uncertainty as to the manner in which a federal union might be achieved, advised the members to disregard what was supposed to be expedient and undertake to "raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair."

As a recent example of the manner in which patterns of action can be formulated for large groups of people, Mr. Lippmann then proceded to quote the statement of a London newspaper editor about how the people of London had been taught to react to the bombing raids.

"Many of us," he said, "were anxious about that before the raids started in September 1940; we did not know how the people of a modern city would stand up to it. And when the first raid came and hit the east end of London, neither the government nor the newspapers knew just what the people who had been hit were thinking and how they would take it. But that evening we decided to assume that they had acted heroically, as Englishmen should, and the next morning we printed all the stories that came in to us of their bravery, their good humor and their uncomplaining patience. Right then and there we fixed the pattern of how people ought to behave in an air raid. Perhaps they would all have behaved that way anyway. But you know there is good and bad in all of us, and the right example at the right moment can make all the difference in the way men act."

The questions of what to wear, how to act when your son is drafted, what to do when your daughter elopes, how to behave in the face of a bombing raid, or what to do when food is scarce, will all be determined by someone, and the rest of us in general will accept that pattern and proceed to act upon it. There isn't any "instinctive way" in which to behave.

In some of our American cities rationing was taken calmly and with a grain of humor. People willingly did without things they were accustomed to have in order to share with each other. In other communities the pattern of hoarding was set by a few selfish individuals and accepted by many as the proper way to behave. In some communities the news of the death of a loved one at some remote outpost was accepted courageously and in a spirit of dedication. In others, the parents set up a pattern of howling grief and self-abandonment. Neither is necessary. The first would appear to be by far the wiser.

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[1] Life and Growth by Alice W. Keliher, D. Appleton-Century Co., is one of the few textbooks actually built around the questions to which youth wishes to know the answer. Copies may be found in all Indian Service high school libraries.

In many aspects of our lives today the advice of Washington is pertinent. Let us not underestimate the capacity of the human race for nobility and let us each contribute his part toward "raising a standard to which the wise and honest can repair."

5.

REAL DISCIPLINE IS SELF-CONTROL

1. SOCIAL CONTROLS

IT IS BECOMING generally recognized that the school is an agent of society for the development of desirable and constructive social attitudes. This demands that the school program be operated with a clear recognition of realities.

No longer can it be assumed that elimination terminates responsibility for youngsters who prove annoying, difficult to direct or control, or who appear to be exerting a demoralizing influence on other students. To send such apparently recalcitrant or incorrigible youngsters out into society assumes that an unsupervised, unregulated environment is more capable of directing their activities or protecting their associates from contaminating influence than is a school in which there is close supervision of group and individual activities.

If the destructive influence of an incorrigible youngster upon his associates is stronger than the constructive influence which his associates can exert upon him, it is evident that standards of social behavior within the school are imposed by the faculty without general acceptance by the students, rather than being representative of a community sentiment. Reformation or regeneration of potentially wayward children may be more rapidly and successfully effected in a desirable social environment than in one made up solely of maladjusted or incorrigible children. If right action is accepted as a desirable objective by the students as a whole, it inevitably appeals as desirable to all but the most abnormal members of the group who will be but few in number. Efforts should be made to transfer such abnormal students to suitable institutions which can exercise continuing supervision over their actions, rather than to turn them loose on society.

2. WHY DO WE BEHAVE AS WE DO

A PECULIAR fiction has grown up about the motivations of human behavior. Stated simply, it is that all children and most adults—especially foreigners—have a perverse desire to do the wrong thing, and will usually do it, unless frightened into doing things in accordance with the accepted social pattern. Many people attempt to train animals by the same method, as for example the cowboy's procedure for 'breaking' a horse.

The records show that for many years Indians were dealt with almost exclusively by that method. Within the memories of many employees now in the Indian Service, corporal punishment was an accepted disciplinary measure in most Indian schools —and there were prophecies of insurrection when Carson Ryan, Commissioner Collier and Secretary Ickes forbade the striking of school children. While many employees still doubt the wisdom of the Secretarial order which prohibits corporal punishment, Indian schools are today practically free from brutality. And the general testimony throughout the Service is that the children have never been more tractable or easier to handle.

Have generations of adults been wrong about the need for a strong hand in disciplining children? Is "spare the rod and spoil the child" really a misstatement, as are so many other examples of "folk wisdom"? Happily, yes. If most grown people would really examine impersonally their own motives for action, remembering back into their childhood, instead of accepting a current generalization, they would know that fear has never been an efficient or constructive method of social control.

If there is one fact which the psychologists have surely established, it is that action springs from positive interest. A baby's attention is caught by a moving light, and he reaches for it. If it is caused by a bright bauble which is hanging within reach, it is grasped by the hands and brought as close as possible to the mouth, which at this age is an active organ of sensory examination. If the object had been grandma's lorgnette, father's watch or something else which the child might damage, his reaction would have been the same, for he has no basis for discrimination.

However, the reaction of the observing adult might be very different. If a toy, placed for the baby's amusement, the adult is pleased at the response which has been evoked. If a watch attracts attention unintentionally, and the adult is afraid that it may be damaged, the response may be one of annoyance. The object is snatched away, and the child may even have his hand slapped. A moment's consideration should be enough to convince us that such a slap would be undeserved, and will accomplish nothing in the training of the child.

A baby is born into the world as a bundle of nervous reflexes. Some students of psychology go as far as to claim that very nearly all of life's habits are built up as a series of coordinated responses to stimuli from the environment. Sometimes the environment of the nerves is internal, and experiences going on inside the body itself set off still other responses. Two simple examples of this contention: The newborn infant has no intelligent knowledge of feeding. His embryonic nourishment made no use of the lips, mouth, throat or stomach. Yet when the nipple of the mother's breast (or of a bottle) is pressed against the child's lips, he begins to suck. The mouth filling with fluid, he swallows for the first time, and so the peristaltic action of the esophagus is set up. This is a case of stimulus from the outside environment. Inside the body, in response to stimuli as yet undefined, the endocrine glands are secreting infinitesimal quantities of substances termed hormones, which stimulate growth, influence emotional responses, bring about momentary increases of physical strength, and in many other ways control phases of human behavior. Here the stimulus is from the inside, and wholly apart from the conscious knowledge of the individual affected.

As new responses to stimuli appear, there is evidence that the new responses relate to and grow out of one or more of these initial modes of behavior. For example: Changes in the intensity of light are apparently without effect on babies. However, the reverberations of a bass drum evoke fear responses. When a flash of light occurs at the same time as the drum beat, the response is one of fear, as with the original unexpected noise. After synchronous experiences with noise and light, the child is found to make the same fear response to the light flash alone. The fear reaction has been transferred to an experience which had previously been without emotional significance.

These new responses are termed "conditioned" responses, to indicate that they have been learned by association of experience, rather than representing genuine instinctive or reflexive action. Psychologists in the laboratory have demonstrated with adults the reality of this phenomenon, and today it is an accepted explanation of much human behavior. Stated simply: It is a demonstrated fact that a large number of human behavior patterns have been learned through the association of experiences. This should effectively dispose of the old fiction of innate viciousness or perversity in children (or adults—or even animals). Children behave as they do, because the adults with whom they have associated have taught them to behave that way.

Very little behavior remains on the level of conscious thought. When it is time to eat, there is little chance that intelligent thinking can be done till hunger is satisfied. When a man has been punched on the nose, or deprived of his best girl, or had food snatched from his hands, his reaction is one of anger. Experience may have tempered his overt expression of anger. If the fellow who punched him is bigger, he may hit back—or he may wait till he is a safe distance away and then take it out in loud talk. For this reason, most things that children do in response to any given situation are not "thought out"—they are merely reactions repeating a previously learned pattern.

The way human beings react in the presence of other human beings, we have termed "manners." A man doffs his hat when he meets a woman whom he recognizes as his social equal or superior; some men doff their hats to any woman, as a gracious gesture to her sex. When friends or acquaintances meet, they shake hands. A variety of utensils is used in the consumption of food, and at the dinner table the hands are seldom allowed to come in contact with what is to be eaten. The list is almost limitless, and in any culture, it is taken for granted that these things are known and practised. In White public schools, even in underprivileged districts, the children are aware that certain patterns are "accepted", and are seldom surprised when teachers make them explicit, and demand conformity. The teachers themselves *expect* these established reactions to occur just as unconsciously. Why hats should be doffed, hands shaken, or forks and spoons used in the accepted fashion, they would find it difficult to explain. Faced with the question, seriously presented, their natural reaction would be angry frustration at their inability to explain what had been taken for granted, and resentment at the person demanding an answer.

In another culture than our own, however, the accepted manners would be quite different. And the individuals conforming to that pattern would be as ill at ease if called upon to explain it, as we are to justify our own.

Learning the manners of his culture is one of the more difficult tasks confronting each child. Because "manners" are taken for granted, the adults don't recognize them as learning experiences—as they do the jobs of learning to read, of mastering number processes, and similar responsibilities entrusted to the schools.

Impatience is therefore liable to greet the child who makes a mistake. He is called stupid, or rude, or something else, to cover his parents' embarrassment because he doesn't know as much about life as they do.

Many of our "manners" take the form of tabus—the things that aren't done, or aren't said. While all share the necessary functions of elimination, they aren't discussed in specific terms. Certain euphemisms grow up in each generation, with which the need to urinate or defecate are disguised. All but the dumbest among us know just what is meant when a guest asks to "wash up", but everyone pretends that he means what he says. Children have a difficult time to learn just what to say under the circumstances, and when to say it.

Often parents have gotten themselves so prudishly immured in the tabu that they can't even talk to their children in language which the child can understand, and the child's errors grow out of not knowing just what it is he's not to do. These particular tabus are part of our culture. They are not necessarily shared by the cultures of Indian groups.

Children are naturally curious. If they weren't, they'd never get on in the world, for the greater part of one's education lies in wondering "why", and then going after the answer.

Mother Nature is no prude, so she doesn't sit around at the child's elbow, and say, "Don't ask that", or "Better not do that". The child asks sensible or embarrassing questions with equal gusto; wants the explanation of simple and complicated processes; sees the commonplace happenings which Mother considers educational, but also sees the equally commonplace events which people who have acquired their "manners" have learned to ignore.

Matches which light, things which make a loud noise, an open fire, and things which move fast like electric fans, exert a fascination upon curious youngsters which is not terminated by a simple "don't!" Adults are used to such phenomena, and have become slightly bored about them. Many children take a long time to become accustomed to the exultant power which is vested in mankind by these "commonplace" inventions. Again and again they are drawn to repeat the experiences which are so wonderful—but so dangerous. And adults become impatient, and talk about disobedience, and somehow or other imagine that physical punishment can deter a child from such investigation, before he finds that the power is his and it becomes a commonplace to him also and gives way to another wonder.

Such persistence conquered rabies, and smallpox; climbed insurmountable mountains; discovered America; destroyed the yellow fever mosquito and built the Panama Canal. The record is endless. Yet persistence, despite the fact it is the stuff that progress is made of, becomes exceedingly annoying in others—and in children is something not to be put up with!

However, despite the fact that the world is so full of marvels waiting to be understood, the average child is desperately desirous of "getting on with" the other creatures of his environment. He is almost always ready to try to find interest in the expressed interests of another. And the world is moving so rapidly that one interest will frequently replace another with little regret. And at the same time, as a living personality, he may be forgiven for resenting a dictatorial interference with his interests or activities. People who say "I forbid you" or "You must not" or "Stop that, instantly, or I'll——" unconsciously set up a challenge.

"You say I can't, and I know I can. Just to show you (or prove it) I'll do it anyhow!" "You'll do that to me will you? Well, you'll have to catch me first!" "Think you know everything, don't you? Well, I can get away with it, and you'll never know it, Smarty!" It doesn't require a pre-adolescent to react that way to prohibitions. A great many adults find the same challenge in dictatorial "must nots."

On the other hand, a new interest will frequently terminate an undesirable activity. A good reason for not doing something, or a better reason for doing something else, appeals to most of us. "Let us do this . . . . " opens future possibilities. "Don't do that!" only interrupts immediate activities. "If you'll do this for me, then I'll do that for you" offers a reward for cooperation. While "If you don't stop that, I'll do something to you!" threatens, and arouses natural resentment, but offers no constructive alternative.

The need for "discipline" in a repressive sense exists only when the individual who is supposed to be in control is unwilling to take the time to find out what is being done, and why; and too busy or too lazy or too unimaginative to offer a constructive suggestion as to something better to do. Most potential mischief can be foreseen and constructive alternatives provided before the mischief gets afoot. Hallowe'en vandalism is being controlled in many parts of the country by recreation leaders who say, "Come to my party on October 31 prepared to have a well-behaved good time"—not by police forces which say "If you tip over outhouses and run away with gates in this town, you'll be put in jail."

Indian youngsters don't differ from White youngsters in any of these fundamentals of behavior. However, they have grown up from infancy in a different culture pattern, and have acquired different "manners." Their tabus are likely to be different, and their standards of conduct will conform at first to those of their fathers and mothers.

It need not be assumed when they come to school that they should put aside what they have learned, and uncritically substitute White customs for their own. To be a successful teacher of Indians, one should do his best to learn to respect the customs of tribal groups and if possible, why they are significant. Most people have learned to enter the religious edifices of another faith with somewhat the same respect which they pay their own and should approach other differences in belief with similar consideration.

It will often be helpful to explain to a child how similar experiences are treated by cultured White people (remembering that not all of the Whites whom he will meet will be cultured, or will know enough to respect his culture) in the hope that he may eventually become adept in the "manners" of both cultures. Most of his life is likely to be lived among his own people, and if he becomes ashamed of his tribal traditions, he will be unhappy and make others ill at ease. Many of his contacts will be with Whites, and will be more pleasant if he can adjust his behavior to their expectations also.

The time spent in seeking to understand those with whom one must work, is usually well invested. It will help to avoid misunderstandings, if one respects the life patterns of others, which are as integral a part of their culture patterns, as one's own habits are of one's social group. Incidentally, many disciplinary difficulties will disappear, for apparent disobedience will appear frequently as a different "manner" of reacting to a common situation. Apparent discourtesies often will turn into demonstrations of respect—in the "manners" of another culture. And Indian children will be found to be even more desirous of "getting on" with their teachers than a similar number of White children.

3. CONTROL VS. SELF-CONTROL

REGIMENTATION is the opposite of education—as preparation for life in a democratic society. Regimentation assumes the superior wisdom of a limited few individuals who may momentarily be in positions of power, and discounts the self-directive intelligence of the many. Democracy must be founded on a recognition of the capacities of the many for self-direction, and education for democracy demands that leadership take the time necessary to inform the many and give them the opportunity to experiment in social controls.

Many Indian tribal groups have long histories of self-direction. It was hard for White leaders in the early days of contact with Indians to realize that many Indian chiefs and head men were only spokesmen for, or advisers to, the members of the tribe. These leaders possessed no power to act for other members of the tribe in giving away land or agreeing to restrictions. Nowhere was this conflict in racial concepts more evident than in areas in which the Whites undertook to set up puppet leaders of their choosing, in the belief that such leaders would be accepted and followed simply because they possessed the symbols of office. Such tricks had worked with European peoples, who had developed no technique to combat the coup d' etat, by which transformations in social and governmental policy were brought about by simple shifts in leadership accomplished by force or chicanery.

It was taken for granted by White leaders that a similar pattern of social control was universal, and many misunderstandings in dealing with Indians resulted. Indian leaders were unable to "take program" from Whites or "sell out" to their natural enemies and deliver the acquiescence of their followers. As a result, a fable has grown up to the effect that Indians are ineffective leaders. The truth is, Indian tribal organization was often more democratic than the governments of many nations which sent settlers to the new world. The Indian scheme of democratic administration is a worthy contribution to a country which prides itself on being the greatest modern democratic republic. In dealing with Indian children in school, a recognition of the tradition and continuing force of community opinion in governing social action would greatly simplify discipline and control.

Such ideas and practises make themselves apparent in daily behavior and casual human contacts. Whether buildings are defaced, toilet paper wasted, furniture broken, and other abuses practised is not determined by the ability of a given principal or adviser or other official to "control" the children. When these things happen it is self-evident that all attempts at control are external and superficial—therefore useless. When such matters are properly cared for, it is equally evident that there has been some desirable transfer of control to the students individually. No group of adults can permanently prevent children (or other adults) from doing things regarded as undesirable, or continue to force children (or other adults) to conform to practises thought of as desirable. The practise must be accepted as desirable by the individuals concerned or there will be frequent violations.

Many Indian schools today still depend on external controls. The evidence is obvious and incontrovertible. The administrators confess it either by frank acknowledgement that they "can't control the youngsters" when adult supervision is withdrawn, or by the modifications of plant structure by which they seek to circumvent the uncontrolled activities of the children.

Locked doors, barred windows, artificial barriers of one kind or another, toilet paper on an iron pipe in a central location, broken toilet doors and fixtures, central control of showers, broken furniture or the absence of comfortable and well-preserved furniture in common rooms are all the physical earmarks of unsuccessful attempts at external control; or equally significant, the lack of any attempt to develop self-control.

These things are of fundamental importance but do not lend themselves to spectacular reporting

It is not what is spectacular that the Office is interested in however—it is fundamental experiences which will fit children for democratic living. These are difficult to transmit to paper but quite self-evident to a casual but sensitive visitor.

4. BUILDING SELF-CONTROL

IT HAS become generally accepted that society through the individual family and the church, and more recently through the public school, should give some guidance to the developing social attitudes of children. This type of training is loosely referred to as training in civic responsibility, ethical and moral guidance, or character education. After an era in which poor home conditions, slums and lack of recreation facilities were blamed for juvenile delinquency, the schools are now being severely criticized for permitting young people to grow up without proper character training.

The difficulty with comments of this kind is that they fail to recognize that children live 24 hours a day, and are under the influence of the school for five or six hours at the most. What they are learning *out* of school, is just as potent education as what is being learned *in* school. Classroom teachers may teach good fellowship and the golden rule, but a small child on the playground who finds himself the victim of an older bully or a mean dispositioned youngster of his own age is faced with facts, not theory. Either he must fight or run away.

There is no use pretending that the school administration would protect him if his difficulties were reported. If he did seek protection by tattling, he would later encounter retribution, as an inevitable consequence of the gang loyalties which he had violated. The fact that a bully or group of bullies has the free run of the playground is evidence that the faculty does not control the social attitudes of the juvenile group. When adults investigate reports of such misconduct they are likely to find the victims protecting their tormentor. When children are caught in lies of that kind, we are likely to be most unsympathetic, saying that they have only themselves to blame for the abuse which they suffer. Too seldom do we realize that the child who learns to lie, often does so in self-defense, having discovered that it is less painful to deceive the adults who are in authority, than to betray the more powerful leaders among his fellows. School playgrounds and neighborhoods still exist which are ruled by caveman ethics and which are the spawning grounds for young gangsters who will later defy the police and engage in parasitic rackets, which prosper for the same reason that the weaker children in school days submitted.

Society has achieved its present degree of social control through the slow discovery that the vast majority of people is better off when the predatory minority is under control, than it was before regulatory codes were established. It has taken this majority a long time to make the discovery and to unite in formulating its codes of behavior — first in the thinking of the people, then in law, and then by giving law the effect of force through the establishment of police.

Existence of racketeers and other men of force who, ganging together, prey upon their more peaceful and unorganized fellow citizens, proves that the battle for peace and good will is far from being won, even within our own society. We are not justified therefore in assuming that all citizens are unanimous in accepting peace and good will as a way of life. Teachers who recognize these facts, know that the effectiveness of their teaching can be better assured if the ideals that are instilled during the more formal aspects of school life, can be extended to the informal lives of children. It is these teachers in the Indian Service who have seen in the cottage dormitory a natural way to carry into nonclassroom life, opportunities for constructive experience in successful group living.

It is recognized that the conduct of any individual in a social group, is determined largely by what he believes will obtain the approbation of the group. It is the very unusual individual, or the individual under an unusual strain, who will knowingly do something which will not be approved by his equals with whom he associates. People who have worked long and intimately with children, and who can recall vividly their own lives as children, have discovered that with a little support for right conduct from adult sources, almost any group of children can be counted upon to be self-controlling along cooperative lines. When child groups are disorderly, vandalistic, or insolent it is because leaders within the group approve and give prestige to such behavior.

These leaders are in a more effective position, when it comes to enforcing their standards of conduct, than are the adults who disapprove. This force of public opinion is coercive and will control conduct even though many, and sometimes a majority, of the children who are affected thereby, would really rather be doing something else. If such uncontrolled behavior continues long enough, it may be accepted as desirable even by those who know better—which brings increasing moral disintegration.

Most societies, whether they be groups of children or groups of adults, if informally organized, lack the means with which to make social controls effective. One of the first evidences that any group has evolved toward civilization, is that it has set up a formal means to give expression to the group will. All of our Indian societies had arrived at this point before the coming of the White man. Social approval or disapproval, which was expressed initially by the tribal elders, was reflected in members of the tribe. This automatically constituted effective enforcement of social controls. A man who had overstepped what the group considered proper, was disciplined. No one, not even members of his own family, dared to help him until by his conduct he had regained the approval of the group. In extreme instances older members of the tribe were vested with sufficient authority to use force to obtain conformity. Failing that, ostracism or exile might follow.

Groups of children brought together in an Indian Service boarding school, lack the homogeneity which develops through years of association. In many instances, they are drawn from more than one tribe and lack the background of a common upbringing in the home. They are at an early stage of group organization—the stage when a forceful minority can effectively win its own way, because the majority is unorganized.

In attempting pupil self-government in schools of this type, the administration frequently makes the error of assuming that the pupils, like those in the better White public school, possess a common social attitude regarding personal behavior. While in the more homogeneous schools such organized sentiment may exist, it is often not in agreement with the commonly accepted White viewpoint. Teachers and principal therefore fail to recognize it, and unintentionally discourage or destroy it. In the heterogeneous school, self-government of the usual type will have difficulty in functioning, because the pupils will have no common understanding of what is expected. In both schools the judgments of the more mature student leaders will probably be in conformity with social patterns of their own tribes, but their thinking, if expressed, will be difficult for members of the White faculty to follow.

All children are relatively young in their social experience and have seldom fully absorbed the sentiments which control adult behavior. Where conduct is guided by rational judgment, they have not yet learned the reasons for behavior; and in instances where conduct is accepted without reasoning, they are frequently quick to see its irrationality and question its wisdom. In both instances, they need the opportunity to investigate conduct controls through discussion.

In Indian schools enrolling representatives of several tribes, the situation is even more difficult because the social attitudes of the different tribal groups vary in details even though they may not vary in basic objective. For this reason adult guidance through discussion, rather than through edict or order, is not only necessary but is usually welcome, if it gives a chance for the formulation of group opinion. Once group opinion has been developed, it is essential that the adults, who after all are actually in control, support its enforcement upon the more recalcitrant ones, who profit from disorganization.

While individual children may at times enjoy the expansion of ego which comes from being chosen as monitors, policemen, judges, and leaders of various kinds, vested with a control over the action of their fellows, careful research into the total reaction of the group often reveals that such individuals are keenly resented by most of their fellow pupils. Frequently they become aggressive, domineering, and antisocial because of their unwonted power. Such a condition will frequently develop disciplinary reactions of an undesirable type, primarily as an expression of resentment against the overbearing attitude of such student leaders. It is often said that children accept the discipline and guidance of their fellows more willingly than that of adults. This is only conditionally true.

Adult judgments are often resented because they demand a type of social behavior which ignores completely the pressures to which the children are subjected among themselves. No rules are either right or wrong. Their rightness or wrongness must always be judged in relationship to the conditions under which they may be applied. What children or any other group wish (and this can be expanded to include the faculty personnel of a school, employees of an agency, or the adult Indians in a community) is sympathetic understanding, fairness, and an opportunity to have difficulties fully explored and decided upon their merits. Except that other children may be more familiar with actual conditions in the school community and therefore more likely to recognize the factors influencing the behavior of their fellows, they are not as well qualified as adults to unravel behavior difficulties. Most people prefer to present their difficulties to a mature and mellowed adult. What is sought is a fair and reasonable hearing by someone who wishes to understand why things happened as they did.

The difficulty which children encounter in dealing with adults, is that the older person is liable to enter into any situation with preconceived notions as to what took place and who is to blame. Children who have a reputation as trouble makers are liable to find an adult court prejudiced against them. Children who have established reputations for conformity to adult patterns, are likely to find the court prejudiced in their favor. Children are quick to sense such patterns in adult thinking, resent them, and are not impressed with judgments rendered by individuals whom they believe to be thus prejudiced.

Another difficulty to be faced in dealing with children is the general assumption that an individual who makes a mistake must suffer some kind of a punishment. When a court is convened, it is assumed that its foremost purpose is to assess a penalty, and the major questions are: what penalty and how much?

It is an easy pattern to acquire, and it is usually accepted by student councils and student courts when they are set up to judge pupil misdemeanors. In fact, the literature dealing with the subject often points out that child courts are much more severe in inflicting penalties than adult courts, as though that constituted some kind of virtue. As a matter of fact the whole approach is fundamentally wrong, and what passes for virtue in such severity may actually be extremely vicious. Our smug attempts "to make the penalty fit the crime," ignore completely some of the most fundamental psychological facts in the whole field of social control.

In the first place, when it is clearly known what penalty will be exacted for a certain misdemeanor, the fact that this misdemeanor is antisocial and should not be committed, tends to disappear from the thinking of the potential miscreant. The question uppermost in his mind becomes, "Will the resulting fun compensate for the penalty, if I am caught?"

The crime and punishment theory also fails to recognize the fact that most people are desperately anxious to get on with their fellows, and get into most of their difficulties either thoughtlessly or innocently. Having been caught doing something which is socially disapproved, is frequently penalty enough in itself. When a child can be helped to understand why such actions are disapproved, and his earnest desire to avoid a repetition of such a breach of confidence has been won, the main purpose for official consideration of the matter has been achieved, and penalties become superfluous, sometimes even destructive.

Sometimes the feeling of injustice and pettiness provoked by penalties which are deemed to be unreasonable or extreme or unjust, may be sufficiently strong to undo all of the value achieved in the earlier discussion, and to wipe out entirely the initial feeling of shame and regret. If one approaches the misconduct of children (or adults for that matter) with a clear recognition of the fact that the error if recognized is usually regretted, he is usually a long way toward preventing its repetition.

Such regret may not be part of the reactions of the more experienced rowdy. He may have learned by experience that society punishes the one who gets caught and may interpret an attempt at understanding as a sign of weakness. What is needed then is not more of the stern punishment which he expects, but evidence that this can and will be administered if necessary, but that a more constructive and intelligent solution is sought. Faced with such a statement as, "We both recognized that you cannot be permitted to continue doing what you have done. It is of course possible to thrash you or place you in confinement for a given period of time, or otherwise inflict painful or restrictive punishment. That will be done if necessary. On the other hand what we are attempting to do is to prevent a recurrence of the incident. If you can propose a constructive way in which this recurrence can be prevented, we are willing to consider it. Punishment is a last resort, and probably a rather useless one, but if that is what you want you can have it." Even hard-boiled rough-necks often recognize a reasonable intent and try to cooperate.

Summarized, there is ample evidence, that in almost every society the majority much prefers peace and cooperation to anarchy and disorder. Most members of the disorderly group desire social approbation and have been winning it by their daring. If socially desirable ways of winning prestige can be presented, their cooperation can be gained also. Rules and regulations which are in conflict with what the social group believes to be right and just can be broken without arousing any social indignation. Through group discussion and evaluation of conduct, agreements can be reached which will carry group approval. Violation of these agreements will result in group disapproval. When this point has been reached, and these reactions are sincere, self-government begins to be possible. However, *self-government* does not mean the enforcement of faculty formulated rules and regulations by student representatives. It means student participation in the formulation of a social code. Thereafter adults must often continue to give effect to the group sentiment. However such enforcement will be easy, if diplomatically handled, because it will be supported by public opinion—and the offender cannot gain sympathy. Punishments are not as effective in bringing about conformity to group attitudes as is an attempt to understand and remove the cause of the violation.

5. WHAT'S DONE CAN'T BE UNDONE

LIFE is made up of mistakes. The man or woman has never lived who never made any. Some people fool themselves and try to fool others by pretending to infallibility, but most of us are sane enough to recognize that it doesn't exist. That fact doesn't appear to keep us from being pretty hard on other people who make mistakes. There seems to be a certain amount of satisfaction to each of us in finding out that the other fellow was wrong, and with that goes an equal or greater satisfaction in calling the matter to his attention. In fact we are a little bit inclined to be more critical of the mistakes of children than we are of similar mistakes on the part of adults.

Long experience has proved that tardiness is a rather common fault of humanity. Yet we sometimes raise it to the level of a sin when we discuss it with children. People of all ages feel called upon to talk when other people are talking, or when they should be giving their attention to what the other fellow is saying. Yet whispering in the classroom is sometimes looked upon as one of the major crimes.

One must learn what to do and what not to do in the face of a variety of situations. None of us is born with the right answer. One might even assume, and with reason, that making mistakes and then discovering one's error was a necessary and valuable part of the learning process. By doing something and finding the results to be undesirable we learn not to do it again. Much of the young child's education takes place through the trial and error method. Many scientific discoveries have been made in the same way. For example, Ehrlich's discovery of Salvarsan, the first specific for the cure of syphilis, was the result of 605 previous experiments which didn't work.

The one self-evident fact is that after a thing has been done, it cannot be undone. One can decide never to do it again, one can sometimes correct the error, but life goes perpetually forward and cannot be reversed. Yet so many people who deal with children, or with adults for that matter, appear to get sadistic enjoyment out of discussing past mistakes. We have all known the teacher (or parent) who celebrated any error by a lengthy review of all our past sins, and some of us, recalling the actions of such an individual, make the error of imitating her without remembering how we felt while listening to her.

Next time you are tempted to give somebody a "bawling out" stop and recollect how you felt the last time you received one. It is probably axiomatic that most people are conscious of mistakes shortly after they have made them, or when they don't realize the error at the moment, do so when it is called to their attention, and regret that it has been made. Made aware of our deficiencies most of us would like to go immediately and correct them, sometimes with a feeling of chagrin and regret. Nothing that can be said could possibly make us feel any worse. Humbly we seek to correct our error. But often it isn't allowed to stop there. Either through habit or through a feeling that punishment of one kind or another must be inflicted, that consciousness of error must be rubbed in, the one who has detected our mistakes finds a series of unpleasant things to say about them. We are made to feel incompetent, stupid, careless, thoughtless, guilty of a hundred sins of commission and omission, no one of which ever entered our thinking. We are further reminded of previous errors, many of which we had forgotten and all of which we hoped the other person had forgotten also. Often we are gratuitously insulted, along with our parents before us.

So a discovery of error which initially aroused in us humility and regret has become overlaid with resentment at criticisms which appear unjustified, and with a feeling of frustration at the apparent endlessness with which recriminations are poured upon us. Our initial readiness to expiate a recognized mistake is replaced by defiant bitterness at the injustice of the attack. Regret gives way to indignant displeasure, which may be in turn replaced by sullen anger. The initial wish to redeem oneself is replaced by an attitude of resignation or bitter hostility. What might have been a constructive experience turns out to be a battle of personalities, all because anger and resentment were being wasted on something that could not be changed. What is done can't be undone. Instead of dealing with the situation briefly, pointing to the desired future reactions and permitting a correction, an opportunity has been wasted and bitterness has been sown.

6. GOOD BOYS—BAD BOYS?

MICHAEL is in the bad graces of the authorities. In the first place, he came home to the reservation under a cloud of disapproval. He had been offered a place as quarterback on a big league football team. Though he was not a popular boy with his teachers at the non-reservation school, they believed this was a big opportunity for him and urged him to accept it and get away from the reservation. Instead he went back to the reservation to "live just like all the other Indians." For some reason or other he was popular with them. He was soon the leader of his neighborhood. Bigger, brawnier Indian men consulted Michael.

His first marriage did not turn out to be a success. His wife was admitted to be a shrew but his Indian divorce was not recognized officially. He went to all the native dances. "The first to come, the last to go." He was elected president of the local stockmen's organization. His neighborhood was the first to set up a voluntary grazing unit under Michael's leadership. So successful was he in leading his neighbors that he was offered and accepted a new position. This new position was as foreman of a group which entered other neighborhoods to plan and carry out new grazing organizations. Undoubtedly Michael was a "stormy petrel." But he could hardly be called anti-social. His activities may possibly be of more value to his tribe than those of some of the "good" boys.

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Theodore and Marvin read a great deal. They were always in the thick of discussions and arguments. Marvin was an adept at getting out of physical labor. He was polite and courteous but when it came to odd jobs he was notorious for giving them a "lick and a promise." He was interested in research, however. After a great deal of reading his careful summaries of what he had read showed that his was not a lazy mind.

Marvin wanted a student loan. He was willing to sell his land to get training for a clerical position. The report was that Marvin was too lazy to be worth anything and his request was refused. In some ways this was true. But it is doubtful that he was too lazy mentally to benefit by the type of training he wished to take. Apparent laziness is the frequent cloak of disinterest in the particular task in hand.

Theodore was a different problem. When called on to get something done for the good of the school, he usually responded by getting it done. He did not shirk his work. But he would cheerfully get up and present petitions to his principal in regard to any real or fancied injustice. He was said to be a malcontent, always ready to present his side of an issue with considerable force, regardless of what immediate or distant authority might have to say. Theodore was not recommended for a student loan either.

Theodore's leadership ability will insure his being heard from. Indians will continue to follow him, and he will continue to represent their grievances. Might not additional training make his leadership of greater social value?

Students who are outwardly aggressive and troublesome are not necessarily antisocial in inward purpose, nor are the meek and docile consistently meek and docile when coercion is removed. This was well illustrated in a study made by the University of Pennsylvania some years ago. Sixty per cent of the students presented as problem cases by the classroom teachers of a certain state were found to be above the median in intelligence. E. K. Wickman* in a more intensive study of 1800 public school children found that teachers were intolerant of aggressive and resistant behavior and were insufficiently concerned with extremely recessive or timid behavior.

It would be interesting to note how many of our graduates who become self-supporting and achieve leadership were unpopular with their teachers because they were troublesome. Do you expect your good boys to be too good and are your bad boys as bad as you think they are? Do you recognize leadership, or do you value your own prestige too highly to know it when it appears.—*Hulsizer*

7. CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE

BUSY adults surrounded by children find themselves repeatedly impelled to disrupt the natural activity of the children. Older heads recognize the danger of what the children are doing, foresee the disturbance which they will cause other adults if they continue, fear the destruction of property, the damage to furniture, the injury to animals or to the children themselves which may eventuate, so it is "Johnnie don't," "Mary don't," "Children don't," "Billie stop that," "No, you can't do this," or "You mustn't do that" all of which are prohibitions only, without constructive alternative.

Many activities begin because they possess positive interest and a mere "don't" or "stop that" is not sufficient to destroy that interest. The child therefore, after a momentary interruption, is liable to return to the annoying activity. He is then accused of being disobedient, when as a matter of fact his mind and ultimately his body have merely returned to activity around the most interesting thing in his immediate surroundings.

It is seldom realized that during these periods of undirected activity the child is most open to learning experiences. After all, it is while his mind is free and while he is actually looking for something to do, that he is most likely to respond constructively to suggestions or stimuli which might be thrown in his way.

A good teacher or a wise parent takes advanced thought for occasions of this kind when the child's mind may be seeking something to do. Interesting books, bees, poultry, animal life such as dogs, rabbits, a simple microscope and some slides, a simple garden, puzzles or games, are only a few of the things which can be on hand to take up the slack when these free moments appear.

There is a primary teacher, one of the best in the land, who has a reputation for having never interrupted a child's activity with a prohibition. That may sound strange and may lead to the assumption that she tolerates a disorderly room. Nothing could be further from the truth. She handles 30 first or second grade children with the calm and the poise and the joyousness of a small family party at the beginning of a picnic. But she knows every child, and she watches every child carefully. She is a sufficient student of human nature to anticipate what may happen as an outgrowth of what she sees going on, and when her wisdom senses trouble ahead, she is ready with a constructive alternative, a suggestion of something *to do*. Instead of "Johnnie stop that," or "Billie don't," it is, "Wouldn't you like to read this book about—," and she always has one at hand on a subject in which the child is interested. Or, "Wouldn't you like to paint us a picture?" Or, "Would you like to get out the clay now and begin modeling?" Or, "The flowers need watering. Will you get the water pot and take care of them for us?" Or, "Mary needs some help feeding the rabbits. Wouldn't you like to help her?" These questions and suggestions are, of course, on a very simple level, but the same fundamental idea may be extended to any age through careful, thoughtful preparation and through familiarity with what the child may normally be expected to be interested in.

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*Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes by E. K. Wickman—Commonwealth Fund, New York City.

Children just don't function in a vacuum. The playrooms of many Indian Service dormitories are barren to the point where nothing constructive can be expected to happen. Classrooms are often devoid of everything but furniture. Playgrounds of Indian Service schools are filled with broken, useless apparatus which is incapable of being used constructively. The living and reading rooms of many of our student homes are bare of books, quiet games, or musical instruments. Is it any wonder that children fall back on their own initiative for something to do, and is it surprising that this initiative frequently produces results of which their elders do not wholly approve?

Systems of merits and demerits by which children receive black marks for omissions or commissions are merely a lazy man's alternative to constructive planning. They are negative, restrictive, and neglectful of the real opportunity which is present every time a child is tempted to get into trouble—the opportunity to present a constructive alternative, something to which the child might devote his energy with enthusiasm and pleasure, rather than be cramped and frustrated because his activities are in conflict with that which his elders believe to be desirable.

8. MAKING CHILDREN BEHAVE

FOR SOME people there are only two kinds of discipline. First, giving orders and enforcing obedience through fear of physical punishment. Second, letting children do as they please, with no attempt at direction. Deprived of the first, they often slip disgustedly into the second. They know that they are breeding chaos, but it is seen as a way of showing up the "soft disciplinarians" who won't let children be thrashed, and who pretend that respect and order can be obtained in any other way. When people who know better behave in that way, one is reminded of the spoiled child who wouldn't play if he couldn't make the rules. There are of course others who honestly don't know how to handle children without shouting at them, shaking them and occasionally spanking them. What is lacking is either imagination or ability to analyze situations.

It is simply assumed that children "are like that"—that is, that they don't want to behave, that they are deliberately noisy and annoying, that they don't respect their elders and are generally untrustworthy. That being the case, they must be dealt with harshly and be made to understand that retribution will follow if any such things occur.

Neither assumption is correct.

Most Indian tribes don't "punish" children—but most Indian children are well behaved, courteous, respectful, until they learn, through contact with Whites, how to misbehave.

There are plenty of schools in the Indian Service and outside where no child is ever whipped, where harsh words are seldom spoken, and yet where children are uniformly courteous, respectful and well behaved.

It is not "do as you please" discipline. It is obtained by conscious and *consistent* planning for the kind of social behavior which is desired. Such planning aspires to establish a pattern of action which will carry over from the supervised into the unsupervised aspects of life.

Planned discipline requires more work on the part of the teacher or administrator than harsh discipline. It demands forethought and the exercise of self-discipline. Harsh discipline is often the response of the moment. Planned discipline demands an understanding of children's (or adults') motivation, and is careful not to misread "disorder" where none is intended. Planned discipline undertakes to build personal responsibility for his conduct in the child, rather than making his decisions for him.

The man or woman who wishes to avoid the need for force in dealing with others must be willing to visualize the kind of reaction to various situations which are desirable in the circumstances, *in advance.* Such a person anticipates what may occur if 15 or 20 boys are turned loose in a gymnasium with an open piano and takes one of several steps to avoid the necessity of punishing someone. The piano is locked, or removed, or a prior understanding is arrived at with the boys that it will not be touched. This last is the more dangerous of the three and must be something more than, "Hey you, don't touch the piano."

Such a person realizes that certain situations will produce a given reaction in children, and in many adults, unless controls are introduced or the situation modified.

The first snow on the ground will inevitably produce snow balls; a basket ball lying on a gymnasium floor will inevitably be bounced or thrown if a group of people is introduced into the gymnasium for quite another purpose; a crowd waiting for the opening of a door or gate will surge forward as there are indications that it will be opened; a pencil lying on a desk invites a person seated there to toy with it, "doodling" on the desk or a pad; the upraised rump of someone bending over is a great temptation; unfinished construction provokes curiosity; an apple on a branch overhanging the sidewalk appears to be public property. The situations are endless, and it is simply a careless, stupid or preoccupied teacher, parent, or administrator who fails to recognize the inevitable outcome.

Boys going on their first hunting trip begin to shoot over each other's heads "for fun." Unless their attention is distracted, someone will get hurt. And the distraction isn't a "don't" or a warning of danger—such things sound too much like a dare. It needs to take the form of "who can hit that old stump first?"

Balls thrown near a building will eventually break a window; competitive puddle jumping will result in someone getting his pants wet; books at the edge of a desk will get knocked off.

The teacher who trains himself to see such things in advance usually can avoid the catastrophe, and in so doing arouse in the children similar foresight. In time ninety per cent of the stimuli to disorder are automatically removed by the youngsters themselves.

In the course of a game, children will find themselves in strange places or doing strange things. The adult who discovers them may encounter a furtiveness which will arouse his suspicion of the basic intent of the child. However, if he will stop and inquire, before appearing surprised or annoyed, the honest and ofttimes innocent explanation will clear the situation. A suggestion at this point that the place was ill-chosen or the action ill-timed will usually prevent a repetition. Children are cooperative with those they like or respect and they like and respect fairness and understanding. On the other hand a rough or peremptory order may arouse animosity or stubborness, and as a result the child may deliberately repeat an originally innocent action which provoked condemnation, just to show that he resents the way he was handled.

Rules should never be made unless (1) they are mutually agreed to, in which case most children will obey them even in the absence of supervision or (2) continuous adult supervision makes enforcement inevitable. Nothing is quite so productive of bad discipline as the possibility of "getting by" with something one wants very much to do, and toward which one suffers no compunctions. If one has never been convinced that it shouldn't be done, and it looks as though one wouldn't get caught doing it, few people can resist trying.

There is all the difference in the world between being *told* not to do something and having *promised* not to do it. If the promise has been given after a lucid and convincing explanation of why it should not be done the situation is modified still further. In the first case where one has just been "told," no moral obligation to obey exists. It is purely a matter of whether or not one will get caught. If a promise has been given some moral considerations enter. Many people will keep a promise, even though they don't see any sense to it. However if the promise has been given in the light of a conviction that it is right and just, the individual will not only obey, but will often undertake to dissuade others, also. A wholly negative situation has been thus changed to a positive one. If the matter at issue can't stand the analysis that will take place during a discussion of its merits, a prohibitive order is probably unjustified, and its violation would be of small moment.

Consistency is the most important need, tempered at times with sympathy and understanding. If a thing is wrong today, it should not be something a person can get by with tomorrow. If a child asks to do something and is refused, he should not be permitted to do it anyhow. Too many parents and teachers aren't watchful to see that decisions are carried out, as decided.

Too many people make the mistake of saying "No" to all requests and then allow themselves to be wheedled into changing their initial decision. Most times the "No" was unjustified and it was wise to change. The mistake however lies in having said "No" in the first place. Unless the facts on which to make a decision are in hand, it is wise to temporize, to make further inquiries, to postpone a decision until the facts are all in. Some people, of course, never do anything but temporize and never reach a decision. This is just as harmful to good discipline as a bad decision. Sometimes while held up waiting for a decision, the child feels the imperative and acts anyhow. In such a case, the adult must share the blame.

Threats are always dangerous. They set a price, as it were, for disobedience. If the child is willing to pay the price, he disobeys. Sometimes a threat oversteps the bounds of reason. The promised punishment is unreasonable or impossible of accomplishment. Designed to instil fear, it fails to dissuade, and then the threatener is in a hole. If he doesn't carry out the threat he weakens his authority. If he does, he is brutal and loses respect. It is best to avoid threats.

"What will happen to me if I do disobey," however said, may best be answered, "You will be appropriately dealt with" and the child can usually think up more dreadful punishments than most sane adults would inflict.

After all, however, one should avoid a situation in which "orders" are being given. "I *will* be obeyed" is the boast of a weakling. Behavior should be kept on a basis of reason. As often as possible the child should be led to define the reasonable action to be taken in any situation, and then helped to perform accordingly. After all, in any normal society, patterns of behavior are fairly well established and the child usually can figure out for himself the right answer.

In some of our Indian schools, the correct solution will not be so easy to find, for Indian customs and White customs may differ. In such instances "misbehavior" may usually be read "misunderstanding," and the time spent in an effort to help the child to see that a new custom must be accepted, will pay dividends—far more generous ones than will result from punishment for the infraction.

Of course, there are exceptions to all rules, bad boys who don't respond to reason, etc. Often these ultimately reduce themselves to adults too inflexible to understand the child problems, or too antagonistic to gain the child's confidence. In such cases it is sometimes wise to turn the child over to someone else who can make a fresh start.

It may take more courage to relinquish a case with which one is failing, than to hang on and "vindicate" one's superiority at the expense of humiliating the child.

9. DISCIPLINE IS CONSTRUCTIVE TRAINING

"IF I dood it I get a whippin'. I dood it." Weekly, millions laugh at this famous remark and accept the outcome as logical. A child's misbehavior must be punished. "A whippin" or any other physical punishment in Indian schools is now outlawed, but punishment that causes suffering, entirely unrelated to the misbehavior that incurred it, still continues. Children are forced to do work as punishment, work which should be a learning experience, entered upon enthusiastically. Arbitrary punishment is too frequently applied as a method of discipline. It is part of our American child training system. It should be quickly relegated to the dark ages of our civilization and to the dark ages of our education of Indians.

We are becoming more aware from studies of child development that a child's behavior is deeply rooted in his early experiences. The repetition of these experiences trains the child to react in a certain manner. This is habit formation, and also the formation of the child's personality. If we are to correct bad habits and reconstruct a poor personality we must search into the child's history for causes. We must learn the factors contributing to maladjustment and supply remedial experiences. This is the meaning of constructive discipline.

Webster's Dictionary defines discipline as training, and only secondly as punishment. We are too apt to think of it as punishment. For example, if a child steals from another, he must be scolded, deprived or made to suffer in some other way. It is taken as a simple case of cause and effect. If we look into this child's home background and training, we may find one of several possible factors contributing to his stealing. At home his parents have always locked up all valuables, but allowed him to use any other property. He has been taught to leave alone any property of his family and neighboring relations, but he has not been disciplined to respect the property of others, especially that of the United States Government. He may belong to a tribe where stealing from others is still looked upon as something of a virtue. Such an attitude is not unique to Indian tribes.

If we have a child with one of these conditions in his background, we cannot expect him to observe school rules regarding property. Handing him a booklet of printed rules, or automatically depriving him of movie privileges for the week is not giving him a fair chance. Into his discipline must go an understanding of why stealing is wrong and why punishment follows. The punishment must more than fit the crime, it must instruct, it must train.

Our philosophy of discipline then must be on broader terms than the customary belief that punishment is a sufficient end in itself. If some misbehavior is not misbehavior from the Indian child's point-of-view, our disciplinary training must also include such understanding. Frequently someone comments that Indian children are not trained at all. For example, they come to school dirty. But we can all recall that when they can have good clothes, they like them and like to appear neat and attractive. They can be truculent and rude, but as a rule they are polite and well behaved. They pick on smaller children, and boys and girls will continually hit each other in passing or on the playground. Yet when we visit homes, we find older children taking care of younger ones, and children unobtrusively and pleasantly at play. Children grow up to carry on Indian customs, run their parents' farms and manage their own homes. This is not the behavior of untrained children. The existence of training is as plain as their hats and shoes. If we find "bad" characteristics and if we have discipline problems, Indian training must have differences or omissions that create problems only in the eyes of Whites. Discipline at school may require that new behavior be learned.

It is well known that generalizations about all Indians are futile, and in the case of child training this is especially true. Indian child training systems differ among Indian cultures. In some tribes the child training continues almost wholly on the native pattern; in others only a few sentimental vestiges remain. Some tribes have dropped much of the old training and have adopted few new controls in its place. Other tribes have substituted White methods, many of them ill-advised. However, notes on a few generalizations with regard to Indian child training may give some insight into some widespread misbehavior problems and remove some misconceptions. Exceptions can probably be found to all.

The common attitude, that Indians do not train their children, arises from several differences from White child training. These differences are especially apparent between Indians and our white collar class of families. Indian families adhering to tribal methods do not impose any discipline of feeding or of the natural bodily functions for the first two or three years. Intense discipline begins at the age of five, six or seven. Parents regard the child as responsible for his own actions at an early age and he is given a great amount of independence. We are sometimes startled during summer visits when we ask parents if Johnnie will return to school next year, to hear "If he wants to." This is a decision for the child to make, although the parents may encourage his making it favorably. This independence also accounts for the reluctance of parents to return a child who has run away from school. It would be much wiser for teachers to discuss the problem first with the child rather than the parents.

Differences in attitudes toward property have already been mentioned. Among the Plains tribes particularly, the child learns to have an inverted appreciation of property. He sees his elders regard it lightly and give it away to enhance their, and sometime, his prestige. Among other tribes the family or the clan own property together. The child respects it because of his membership in the group. Only among the Northwest tribes, does the child acquire the strong attitudes toward accumulating property that are characteristic of American society.

Most tribes have received ill treatment at the hands of White men at one time or another. It is understandable that some bitterness and prejudice towards Whites as a group persist. Young children are quick to pick up such attitudes from their elders. Some parents hold up Whites as bogey men before little children to teach them to be fearful and suspicious. Parents also teach children to hide when Whites appear. Such early experiences are not easily overcome, and efforts to dispel them must be made during the first weeks in a new school. As an introduction to school, delousing, bathing and casting off clothes from home, may work more harm than good. Flandreau has broken down the apprehension of new students by appointing an "older brother" or an "older sister" for each incoming student. This is taking a leaf out of Indian life, and it has reduced homesickness and first-night runaways to a minimum

The men and women of most tribes have lost the roles which adults formerly filled. Confinement on a reservation took away the old basic economies. Men can no longer be warriors and hunters. Wives no longer prepare the meat and dress the skins. However, they still must cook and sew and keep the home. Only those tribes which have kept their land intact and retained their native life, offer anything approaching a full life for its young people. Some families offer stock-raising or farming to their children, but these so-called reservation economies have yet to become accepted on a widespread basis. Few fathers or relatives have a business or profession to offer their children. Most modern Indian children, therefore, see a future at home without opportunity. The world outside offers opportunities, but their great number and their comparative inaccessibility create bewilderment in the minds of young people. The future creates a very real problem to Indian children. We cannot be surprised if we find apathy among some students and an inconsistent and frustrated behavior among others.

The differences in Indian child discipline and the contemporary Indian situations which produce puzzling behavior in school, indicate the great necessity for teachers and advisers to understand the local culture and home backgrounds. This is a point that is obvious to most of us. Our curriculum planning considers comprehension of contemporary Indian culture as basic. Yet as we observe our school regulations, our solutions of discipline problems and our guidance work, how much does this objective appear to function in our thinking? If children come to our schools with differences, omissions or poor orientation in their discipline, we have then need for a broad program of disciplinary training. It is not a problem of correcting or punishing single misdemeanors; it is a problem of training children to adjust. School is a new society in which they must learn the proper relationships to other people. They must learn what this society expects of them, and what its rewards and punishments are. This is what the child has already had to learn at home for his own society. The closer the methods of training are to those used at home, the quicker and smoother the adjustment will be. The school has also a second and larger objective of discipline. It must train for adjustments to White society. The Indian child must learn those habits and attitudes that will be expected of him if he lives and works with White people. The institutional life of a school contains, obviously, much that is not characteristic of life in a village or city. Yet the pattern of ideals and good morals, the etiquette and speechways, and the patterns of work and recreational relationships are the same.

Teaching good habits and attitudes for satisfactory and understanding relationships among White people becomes one of our primary educational objectives. Our definition of discipline must be broadened to mean training for good adjustment to society. This is the process of socialization, one of the functions Indian schools must perform. This is not forced assimilation or change toward becoming like Whites. It is training for the society in which the child will inevitably live during his life. Actually there will be several "societies." He must adjust to his primary school group, later his high school or boarding school group, and perhaps his college student body. He must deal with Whites and sometimes in his life he will probably work with and for Whites, for no Indian nor tribe is now totally isolated from White society.

Training to understand Whites and act acceptably among them must be in our minds during our daily school work. It must begin with what training the child already brings from home. It must gradually increase from year to year. Social training cannot be reserved for a weekly class or a spring semester in senior year. Each experience in discipline, each punishment for a dismeanor where punishment appears necessary must be an integrated step in the socializing process.—*Macgregor*

10. LEARNING TO BEHAVE

THE long arguments about the relative importance of nature and nurture in the formation of human character have produced a good deal of confusion with regard to some very simple truths. Any one familiar with the facts presented in William Graham Sumner's "Folkways," William I. Thomas' "Source Book of Social Origins," Sir James Frazier's "Golden Bough" or other elementary texts in sociology or anthropology, should recognize that public opinion is a vigorous controlling force in determining individual behavior in small social groups which have been relatively homogeneous for generations. One can contrast the well ordered citizenry of homogeneous Holland with the rough and tumble of a heterogeneous New York City (population about equal) or the conscientious conformity of the citizens of a Hopi village with the uncontrolled disorder of a checker-boarded Indian-White area in Northern Wisconsin.

As long as there is general agreement among people as to what constitutes good behavior and as to what is generally disapproved, conformity to this pattern upon the part of most people can be taken for granted. There are relatively few people who wish to challenge the force of united public opinion, for the social ostracism which is thereby invited is difficult to endure. The work of the home in indoctrinating children in the accepted social virtues is relatively simple in such a society. There are common and universal religious beliefs. There are accepted forms of behavior toward persons of different age groups, of each sex, and of varying social importance. Parents know what to teach, and have confidence that society outside the home will reinforce these teachings. Furthermore the very universality of the proper patterns wins adherence, for much of early learning is imitative and life is simple for the child when there is only one pattern to imitate.

Such a society can endure contact with societies which enjoy vastly different social standards by virtue of strongly stimulated group loyalties. These are aroused by such slogans as: "We are civilized, they are savage," "We are Christian, they are pagan," "We are the chosen people, they are pharisees," "We eat only beef, they eat frogs legs," etc. which is a simple but effective procedure for justifying all kinds of provincialism, and gaining a glow of self-righteousness to boot.

However, once a schism is permitted to arise, and is tolerated, the task of teaching and maintaining conformity becomes more difficult. When there is only one right way, life is simple. When either of two lines of conduct is acceptable, even though one is preferred over the other, the task of discipline becomes more difficult. The details of personal conduct become more of a family matter, and only the broad general outlines of acceptable conduct are defined by society. The quick condemnation of youthful mistakes vouchsafed by any adult in Hopi society, is replaced by tolerance of a wide variety of behavior by those who are non-relatives. The authority of the home may now be challenged, for the child early becomes conscious of the fact that people outside of the home don't always agree with his parents about what is the right way to behave. Universality has given way to variety—and variety implies choice. A child may disagree with his parents and still not be wrong.

Indian society, until the coming of the White man, depended largely upon the cohesive power of common belief. Physical force was not used in disciplining children because there had never been any need for it. White society, on the other hand, had passed through several centuries of diversity. History tells the story of the invocation of limitless force and cruelty in an endeavor to restore universality when it first departed from the religious sphere. However, force and brutality feed upon themselves and White humanity finally revolted so completely against such waste of human values, that tolerance was demanded. Tolerance made for a happier world, but it also undercut the foundations of authority.

As the philosophic arguments which were advanced by the proponents of tolerance gained popular acceptance, they in turn began to affect the attitudes of parents toward their children within the home. Heretofore it had been taken for granted that parents had the right to bring up children in their own image. Now concern began to be expressed for safeguarding the personalities of growing children—and along with it was talked a lot of bunk about permitting the unfolding of the child's personality, free from the crippling influence of adult pressure. The extremity is supposed to have been reached in the progressive kindergarten, where the little child inquired of his teacher, one morning, "Do I *have* to do what I want to do this morning?"

This over-emphasis on the importance of protecting the individuality of the child, was neither new nor original with these extreme progressives. It is the way in which the children of the upper crust, by accident of royal birth, social position, or wealth have usually been raised throughout history. And it is a bad way to be raised, whatever the contributing cause.

A family which believes itself "better" than the rest of humanity, indoctrinates its children with the belief that they can rightfully disregard the rights and wellbeing of those who aren't so fortunate. In the same way, a family which permits its children to "express themselves" in disregard of others, contributes to an attitude of permanent and exaggerated self-importance. And these are dangerous notions for anyone to get into his head. In the older, simpler society, the entire social group would have operated to disabuse any child of such a notion. In our more complicated society, the force of public opinion is slower to operate, and frequently the enforcement of the standards of society is left to representatives of the law. And by Anglo-Saxon custom, the law doesn't interfere till an overt anti-social act has been committed. In the meantime a youngster may run wild till he begins to believe that he can do as he pleases, and thumb his nose at the social restraints he has heard about. Actually, in our present day heterogeneous society, the fellow who wants to, can come pretty close to doing as he pleases and freely ask, "Well, what are you going to do about it?"

Such an attitude is ultimately more harmful to the individual than to society. Many opportunities leading to self destruction are offered, and taken full advantage of by some. In other cases, society finally shakes itself out of its lethargy, and strikes the non-conformer down with destructive force. But regardless of the end, both the individual and society lose when any man or woman begins to act as though there were no "rules to the game."

Most soft headed lack of discipline in modern homes and schools grows out of misplaced affection. Parents and teachers want children to like them or love them—and believe that such affection can be purchased by a tolerant disregard of their misbehavior. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is hard to love someone you don't respect—and it is harder still to respect someone who compromises with his ideals and his self-respect. Youngsters faced with such compromising indulgence, early learn to exploit it and turn it to their own ends—the while they are gaining the impression that they themselves are above exterior discipline and superior to the decencies of self-control.

Real discipline of course, in any heterogeneous society, must ultimately come from within. The ever present social controls of primitive society, can only be replaced by self-controls which courageous, honest, but understanding parents and teachers can implant. Growing children need the continuing experience of evaluating their own conduct and then modifying it in terms of such evaluation. Creating such a relationship is harder work than giving orders, and enforcing them, but it is work that pays.

On the other hand, giving orders and seeing *that they are carried out*, while delaying the establishment of self-controls, is greatly to be preferred to the habit adopted by so many adults, of shouting orders and then neglecting to follow them up. Don't give orders you can't enforce—but by all means enforce all you give. The indulgent parent who is without standards is only a step worse than the parent who pretends to be exacting and efficient but who is too negligent to follow up.

One learns how to behave from those who bring one up. It is just as easy to learn self-control and self-respect, as to run wild. The one who learns self-control will ultimately be happier than one who doesn't, and will also bring much greater happiness to all with whom he associates. About all birth has to do with it is the good fortune that causes a child to be born of parents who believe this, and who are willing to sacrifice themselves a little bit during the child's early years to put it into practice.

One can substitute teacher for parent or vice versa at any point in the argument—and one can apply the same principles to the successful administration of any staff of subordinates. But to accomplish anything in the guidance of others one must be willing to impose self-discipline also.

6.

SOME OF THE WAYS WE TEACH

1. GOALS NECESSARY

OCCASIONALLY we find a class room where, with the removal of the formal course of study and the substitution of a free activity program, chaos seems to reign. Children drift aimlessly about doing various things, reading the funny papers, playing with dolls, painting pictures, drawing horses (horses that, if placed end to end, would doubtless encircle the globe!) all of which may be worthwhile activities in their proper place with children of suitable age levels. In some cases there seems to be no guiding principle, nor goal in the teacher's mind beyond keeping her charges "busy."

If teachers could realize that an activity program does not mean "no standards, no goals," but that it is only another method of helping the child to attain skills and knowledge required for life in his particular environment, it might help them to guide their children into more purposeful activities and to see that they master the knowledge and skills necessary in carrying these out.

A mastery of the fundamentals in reading, writing, and numbers was, in the old formal program, an end in itself for the child regardless of any need he himself might feel. In the modern school program, however, through the use of an activity which is interesting and worthwhile, the need for this mastery of fundamentals becomes evident and the child has an incentive for learning. The wise teacher will keep goals in sight regardless of her method, and at the end of the year will demand definite accomplishment in terms of basic skills and knowledge.—*Gerken*

2. SET UP OBJECTIVES

FOR a number of years the Indian Service has placed a great deal of emphasis upon the desirability of adapting the educational program to the needs of the area in which a school is located. It has appeared self-evident that the vocational training needed where livestock is the basic economic resource must vary considerably from the training for irrigated agriculture. Both of these would differ radically from the needs of an urban region offering opportunities for trades and industrial activity. Similarly, on the elementary level there are areas in which the care of milk goats and small livestock appears to be desirable experience for the students of Indian day schools, and other areas where attention should be on sheep and irrigated gardens, or on the use of native materials for improving homes. Because of these variations, the Office has not felt justified in setting up a uniform curriculum for Indian schools.

Attention has been called repeatedly to the fact that children and adults both learn to do by actually doing. The spoken or the written word, while a valuable aid in learning, cannot be substituted effectively for experience. The actual handling of unit objects, counting them, grouping them and regrouping them, appears to be almost a necessary experience for many children, if they are ultimately to use numerical symbols with confidence. One must actually milk a cow or goat to learn the skill; how to do it cannot be described adequately in a textbook. The rewarding thrill that comes from finding the first few green shoots pushing through the soil of the newly planted garden is something impossible to reproduce within the four walls of the classroom by means of conversation or pencil and paper. Talking about a doll or a coaster, a new-born lamb, or a meal prepared from fruits and vegetables grown in the school garden is far more stimulating to spontaneous language use than any synthetic conversation in which a child repeats prepared phrases. Such activities develop concepts that give meaning to words or ideas presented orally or in print. But such activities can seldom be the whole of education. They must inevitably be only part of a well planned educational program.

No series of consecutive learnings is fortuitous. It is the result of carefully organized planning. Though the Indian Service has no uniform curriculum, each teacher needs to plan her own work in the light of carefully selected goals or objectives. It is not enough to do a little reading here or a little arithmetic there, have an occasional lesson on science this week, and pass on to history or geography the next. It is important to define quite objectively step by step the knowledges or skills which each child should master in the course of his educational experience.

One difficulty with the average course of study is the tendency to broad generalization. Many such generalizations lose sight of realities and set forth a teaching pattern in terms of wishful thinking rather than realizable objectives. Another way of expressing the criticism would be to say that the average program sets up objectives for successive grades that only a minority of the children can possibly hope to master. As a result children pass from grade to grade with increasing diversity and incompleteness of skill and knowledge.

To be more explicit, in most schools the first grade teacher if she follows the course of study, must attempt to teach more than can be achieved by any but the brightest children in a year's time. Children differ, and as a result there is no uniformity among them as to what portion of the course is learned and what is not. The children, with their miscellaneous learnings, however, pass on into the second grade. The new teacher has no means of knowing what each child knows and what he has failed to learn, out of the material to which he was exposed during the previous year. She has an outline of expectations, many of which are in excess of what the ablest group of second grade children can accomplish in a year's time. She naturally desires to teach her children as many of these things as possible, and is in such a hurry to begin that she takes for granted a uniform basic accomplishment by the children whom she has inherited from the first grade. She then proceeds to build upon this assumed foundation. Those children who entered the grade weak in accomplishment, frequently grow weaker. Much which she tries to teach is ineffective, because of gaps in their previous learning. Similarly, children passing from the second to the third grade, and from the third to the fourth, and so on through the school, suffer from partial learnings and inaccurate understandings and accumulate a miscellany of information and misunderstanding.

In order to correct such weaknesses, the first essential is a clear statement of educational goals, grade by grade. These goals must be explicit and within the capacity of the students to achieve. And they should be stated so clearly that their achievement can be objectively measured. Many such goals can be expressed in terms of the acquisition of skills or abilities which the children did not previously have.

For example, one very excellent school system, analyzing carefully the reading achievements which might be expected during the first year of school, listed the following skills and abilities:

Can re-tell primer story read orally.
Reads independently, asking for needed help.
Can re-tell primer story read silently.
Selects and reads aloud a simple story so as to hold the interest of his audience.

In comparison to many first-grade courses of study in reading, these seem almost inadequate. Yet over a period of years, not more than 80 per cent of the first-grade children were able to do all these things successfully as the result of one year's instruction. The following objectives were set for the second year of work:

Reads primers independently and with understanding.
Has no difficulty in recognizing familiar words in new setting.
Makes successful attack on new words.
Reads freely and comprehendingly simple books for pleasure.

In a majority of instances the children remained with the same teacher for two consecutive years, and were allowed to continue their reading without being sent back "to repeat the grade." During two years, more than 95% of the children learned to read, and measured up to the goals of both years by the end of the second year.

Goals of this type have a twofold value. First, they set forth specifically the accomplishments to be sought by teacher and pupils over a given period of time. It is always easier to organize daily activities in the light of definite objectives, than where one's goals are indefinite or obscure. In setting up a series of goals which are really possible of accomplishment, one also removes a great deal of uncertainty and undue pressure to bring about changes in children which are either impossible at a given age, or which can be only temporary and are rapidly forgotten. Second, they lend themselves to objective measurement when explicity stated. Subjective measurement—the impression of a teacher that a certain skill has been acquired,—is relatively valueless.

For example, the only way to be sure that a child can read orally with fluency, is to have several new stories *containing familiar words*, which have been demonstrated by experience to be of approximately equal difficulty, ready for him to read, when he reaches a point where it is believed he can do it. It is not enough just to pick any story of the approximate grade level, because differences in vocabulary or content may make one story much more difficult than another for certain children.

Similarly, when it comes time to measure the ability of a child to read material silently and express the content, it is necessary that the story be one not previously read but which is built out of words he has learned to recognize.

The goals stated above may not be suitable objectives for teaching reading in the first two grades of Indian schools, because many Indians children enter school with a language handicap. This will delay beginning instruction in reading, consequently postpone the mastery of many of the skills indicated above into the third or fourth year of school instruction.

This handicap in oral language, where it exists, indicates the desirability of goals in oral English, the mastery of which also would require careful and objective examination. These might take somewhat the following form:

Uses fluently appropriate forms of greeting and parting.

Understands simple directions about toiletry, eating, clothing, school supplies.

Discusses such matters, using correct terms.

Makes spontaneous use of English in unsupervised conversation with other children.

Makes fluent understanding oral use of all words to be found in primer stories, to be read later.

A few moments of careful thought should be all that is necessary to convince a beginning teacher that these are the very minimum requirements, before reading experiences of any kind should be introduced. For many children at least a year of active experiences, furnishing many opportunities for spontaneous conversation will be required to achieve these skills.

3. SCHOOLS: CENTERS OF LIFE

"THERE are two important things which every child in this room must remember," said a primary teacher recently, "the first is to keep quiet and the second is to keep your noses wiped." Her remark echoes the statement made some twenty years ago by a Nevada school superintendent, attending his first summer school in many years, when he seriously informed the class that if he had failed in much of his lifetime's educational aspirations, he still had the satisfaction of knowing that he had taught thousands of children that it was a sin to whisper. Yet what could be a greater confession of failure? No place in which constructive activity is occurring can be silent.

In another room, not far from the first, a group of twenty-five or thirty children was busily engaged in a dozen different activities. Many of the children in the latter were in school for the first time and spoke no English when they came. Their greatest need was to accustom themselves to a new language, which can only be done by continual use of the language. This second room was full of things with which to work—in sharp contrast to the first in which little children were carefully lined up in rows of decks which occupied almost the entire floor space. Many of these things had been made by children themselves. Piles of blocks of different sizes (which had been cut by older children in the wood shop), card board trundle beds (which had been made by older children in class), a dozen or more inexpensive dolls, the raw materials of housekeeping, paper, crayons, wallboard, and paints were present in profusion. Few of these items were expensive, but represented the considerate forethought of a teacher who pressed into service every possible item which came within her notice.

In the middle of the floor sat a small five year old Indian boy, playing with a doll and a toy tricycle. Part of the time he was folding the doll into a blanket, Indian fashion. He alternated this with rolling the tricycle over the floor and studying to see what made the wheels go around, Even though the visitor was a stranger, he brought his doll to be admired, uttering the only word in English which he had made his own — "Bebe, bebe," said he.

In another corner was a mixed group of boys and girls, a little further along on the road to the acquisition of English, also playing with doll babies and trundle beds and exercising their modest English vocabularies upon each other. In an improvised cottage, a group of small housewives was busily at work reconstructing the environment of their homes and gaily discussing with one another the problems of housewifery. The remainder of the youngsters was grouped about a number of small tables of similar height, shoved together to form a broad surface upon which large sheets of paper were being transformed with colorful and imaginative designs.

The teacher in this room was the least noticeable feature, quitely moving from group to group. She dropped a word here, indicated a new toy there, or brought forth needed materials to complete some project. There was no disorder in this room; there was no useless noise; there was busy, earnest, purposeful activity; and best of all, there was free continuous experimentation with the English language, a thing which could not have taken place in the atmosphere of the earlier classroom.

What are your objectives? Is your program dead or alive?

4. PUPIL ACTIVITY OR TEACHER ACTIVITY?

SUPERVISORS have an advantage in perspective denied to the teacher, limited as she is to observation with her own group and her own teaching. So, if you care to, step on a "magic carpet" and be whisked around with a supervisor for a while.

Classroom A. The second grade teacher whom we first visit has laid out on the table some charts she made the night before. We note that they recount some of the children's experiences of the previous day. The teacher reports that they were developed by the children in class. Pencil lines still to be erased, showed up around the inked letters of the charts. As we chat with the teacher, two boys come in, look at the chart, then go to the cupboard, get some art gum and go to work.

Two more boys come in, they go to the window and take down the fish tank, get a pail from the closet and for the next half hour are obsorbed in the task of cleaning the tank, getting fresh water, rearranging the stones and shells. Some water is spilled, but everything is spic and span before they finish.

Another boy comes in, removes the weather chart and carefully enters his observations on the sun, wind, moisture, dust, and temperature readings. Two girls pick up books and begin to read quietly.

Children are drifting in rapidly now, and while the teacher without any formality gathers a group around her and listens to them read, we walk among the various other small groups who have gone to work, seemingly without any direction, and question them as to their activities. They have made themselves a store, brought a miscellaneous collection of materials into it, and are quite willing to talk as they busily dust and rearrange things. The whole classroom presents a fine example of activities in which children are using their energy purposefully, find need for acquiring new knowledge or for developing new skills, or put into practice something they have learned

Classroom B. Here is a group of children of intermediate level in an attractive room where there are abundant evidences of pupils' creative work on display. As we enter the teacher is telling a story, and telling it well. It is a folk tale passed down to these children from the elders of their tribe.

Let us observe these children. They are sitting quietly, expressionless. Ah, but not all; here are two or three who are sitting on the edge of their seats, their dark eyes shining, fairly bursting to tell the tale themselves, or at least to have some little part in its rehearsal!

The tale is completed, the teacher suggests that certain phases of it now be illustrated by each child. She goes to a cabinet, brings forth paper and distributes it to each child. She opens a drawer and finds pencils and crayons, and again passes around the room to each child, meanwhile talking in spritely manner of the work they are to do. Then she presses the button, so to speak, with "now we are all ready to go to work," and the activity program is on in full swing. That opportunities for pupil activity have been missed, or that she has herself done the things which would have given the children an opportunity to learn, and would have insured greater interest on the part of the children, apparently has not occurred to this energetic teacher!

Classroom C. Passing through a school we come upon a group of children busily at work outside their classroom. Let us draw near and talk to them. This will give the children an opportunity to put into use their English training, and may give them a feeling of pride in their accomplishments as well as help them to master their natural shyness with strangers. Alas, at our first question the teacher springs up to explain just what the children are doing, how it came about, and what future plans are! The children work silently on. . . .

Classroom D. On our "magic carpet" we breeze away. It is the close of a busy day for the next teacher. A few boys had remained to move the desks and sweep, but they are now dismissed while the teacher puts the finishing touches to the arrangement of material and furniture. She explains as she does this that tomorrow she is taking her class on a field trip. She is tired tonight, but satisfied. All the arrangements are completed. She has herself obtained authority for the use of the bus, has notified the driver, has given the cook instructions about the lunch, and has prepared a first aid kit to take along for any emergency. This, in addition to her regular classroom teaching, has made a heavy day for her. She will, however, be quite satisfied if the children enjoy the trip. She is eager to follow the new methods which call for "activities."

Alas, what burdens teachers carry on their shoulders, preparing and setting the stage upon which they hope youth will act! Like the father who insists upon putting the parts of the toy together so his son may play with it, they often sadly acknowledge that their efforts are little appreciated. They have not realized that it is "not the laurels, but the race" that brings joy: that children who build block houses will knock them down gleefully in order that they may put them together again.

Most of our teachers today are eager to follow the new method of teaching through activities. Many of them have learned the secret of letting children do things for themselves, of placing responsibility upon their shoulders, realizing that children grow when given opportunity for self-direction, and that the added work of an activity program is compensated by the fact that children are assuming so much of it themselves.

On the other hand, there are teachers who, eager to follow the modern trend, search for formal or artificial activities, while overlooking the ones which are ready at hand. Opportunities for child activities which require the gaining of new knowledge or skill, opportunities to practice new skills, opportunities to use their youthful energy in the innumerable chores associated with the preparation and distributing of material, keeping the classroom and grounds sanitary and hygienic, making arrangements for field trips, etc. which are provided in the daily routine of school life.—*Gerken*

5. TEACHING IN SMALL GROUPS

MOST teachers will agree that emphasis should be on individual growth instead of the acquisition of subject matter. Likewise most teachers will agree that the individual needs of students can be met most effectively by teaching in small groups instead of teaching enmasse, yet only a few teachers can be found who put into practice this principle which they agree is good pedagogy.

Some say they haven't the time—that they would never accomplish what they should accomplish. This is just another way of saying that they emphasize subject matter instead of pupil growth. Other teachers say, "I know in theory the principle is good, but in actual practice it just won't work. I can work with one group, but while I'm working with them the other groups are not profitably occupied." That again is another way of saying that either planning is weak, or inadequate materials have been provided and utilized.

Group work requires thorough planning and pupils should have a responsible share in the planning. With a share in the planning grows a feeling of responsibility in seeing that plans are carried out. This eliminates teacher-policing to see that all groups are busy. The teacher can then become an active member of one particular group without the work in other groups coming to a standstill.

To carry on effective group work, material must be supplied, organized, and utilized. A carpenter would not attempt to build a house without materials and tools. An artist would not be able to paint a picture without paints and brushes. Neither can a teacher teach without the materials and tools of her profession.

When we ask what are the materials of teaching, the first response is usually reading materials. It is true that books, pamphlets, bulletins, newspapers, and the like are almost indispensable, yet there are other available materials that are just as valuable.

A great variety of materials can be secured from the local environment. Native plants and trees, native foods and products, native soils and rocks furnish an ever-ready source that many teachers overlook. By the use of environmental materials, science, history, arithmetic and the like often take on a different meaning.

Thermometers, measures of all kinds, magnifying glasses, a microscope if possible, and simple carpenter's tools are useful in concept and skill development. To discover, through experimentation, that there are forms of invisible life is far more effective in building a scientific attitude toward disease than merely reading about the germ theory.

An understanding of the necessity for ventilation is established more readily when the children see through experimenting, that in their own room the principles of air currents which they read about in science texts are actually in operation. To make a book-case to fit a given space fixes the concepts of foot and inches in more meaningful way than learning the table 12 in. equal 1 ft.

The school kitchen furnishes a store of teaching materials if used. Children in all Indian schools do a great share of the dishwashing. It can become either a routine chore which children grow to dislike or it can become an interesting learning experience. Older children who make bacterial counts on dishes washed by different methods and under different conditions gain understandings in health and science. Standards and methods of dishwashing can become a topic for group discussions which not only furnishes an interesting source for oral English but builds for better work habits as well. Records of breakage furnish sources for arithmetic, but they also tend to develop more care in handling.

And so it goes with everything about the school plant. The shops, the gardens, the dining room, the barns, etc. should be utilized for the worthwhile learning situations which they provide. They all furnish potential and vital teaching material. The classroom is not the sanctum of learning. It is quite likely that more real learning takes place without rather than within its doors. It is in order then to have groups of students working outside while certain other groups work inside the classroom.

Indian schools will enter wholeheartedly into the Gardens for Victory program. Let us not think of the garden work as something added to our regular program and outside the scope of the classroom. Make the garden the *classroom*. Writing for bulletins and information, consulting farm extension agents and agriculture instructors, searching references for facts, ordering seeds and plants, building cold frames and hot beds, preparing the soil and planting, caring for and harvesting the produce are steps in the process of raising a garden. Not all students need to take every step in the process. There will be division of effort and exchange of energies, which means that the students will plan and carry out the work as groups. Make your victory garden a success, then apply your method to other phases of your work and soon you will have acquired a mastery of group teaching.

—*Hildegard Thompson*

6. LANGUAGE— A FOUNDATION TOOL

WHEN the White man came to America, each Indian tribe possessed a native Indian language. These languages stemmed from some eight or nine "root" tongues. The isolation suffered by the various tribal groups resulted in the development of these root languages into hundreds of dialects, as mutually non-understandable as English and German. These Indian languages persist today.

Here and there, mixed bloods who have lived almost exclusively with Whites have either never learned, or have forgotten, the native tongue of their Indian ancestor. This is especially true in a state like Oklahoma, or on the fringes of tribal groups where intermarriage with Whites is common, or in areas where the tribal groups have been broken up and Indian families are living completely surrounded by Whites, as in parts of Wisconsin and Michigan. Even in such places, however, the native tongues have persisted, especially in families where the mother is Indian and teaches the native language to her children.

The earlier Indian schools, recognizing the desirability of the Indian becoming versed in English as a means of understanding and being understood by Whites assumed that this could only be accomplished by suppressing the native tongues. For many years, use of an Indian language in or around a government school was severely punished. More than 50 years of such treatment have failed to stamp out the native tongues, and many students of our Indian schools have failed to become fluent users of English. Our experience has not been unique. Throughout the world, majority groups have encountered resistance to the suppression of a minority tongue, or enforced teaching in the dominant language.

The recrudescence of Erse in Ireland, the legal safeguards surrounding the teaching of native dialects in the district schools of Belgium and Switzerland, the persistence of Polish during the attempt of three nations to stamp it out, and the jealousy with which many Balkan minorities have called on the League of Nations to preserve their right to speak and be taught in their native languages, are but a few examples of the peculiar linkage of language to culture.

History would appear to prove that languages have only been lost when peoples became ashamed of or indifferent to their native culture. The United States represents the greatest area of voluntary abandonment of indigenous languages in the world, but the acceptance of English and abandonment of other European lauguages was, for almost 300 years, a wholly voluntary matter. American freedom, and the American-English language, was a much desired objective of our immigrants and their children. Their European languages were associated with periods of oppression, starvation or unhappiness from which the individuals had fled. America offered a haven, and there arose within each individual a strong desire for identification with the people of the new world.

With our Indians, it has been wholly different. With them, English has been a language of oppressors, forced unwillingly upon peoples whose native tongues were a bond with a free and independent and heroic past. America, the nation which has stood as the world's symbol of freedom, was guilty of adopting the European pattern of oppression in dealing with our Indians' languages.

Under the courageous and understanding leadership of Secretary Ickes and Commissioner Collier, this policy of repression has been reversed, and we now offer to our Indians the freedom of choice for which this government has traditionally stood.

The present situation however, presents two problems. First the preservation of the native languages as a symbol of cultural importance; second, the successful introduction of English as a second language of vital usefulness to the Indian of today. These are not mutually antagonistic objectives as was once assumed, but equally desirable, co-ordinate goals.

In 1934, when John Collier declared that an Indian has as much right to his native language as anyone, the decision was greeted with doubt and scorn. Older teachers in the Service predicted that the already difficult problem of teaching English to their charges would be made more difficult. Naturally, this has not been borne out by the facts. With the removal of the ban has come the beginning of that increased pride in race and culture, which is necessary for worthy achievement. And for the moment, what is equally important, *an increased desire to learn English!* Tribes which have resisted the use of English within the tribal group are today requesting instruction in English for adults as well as children.

Psychologically, we have won a great advantage in the schooling of Indians. Practically we are still faced with the difficulty that few, if any, of our teachers know how to begin to teach English to a non-English speaking individual or group. However, it is a difficulty which must be overcome, for until our Indian children not only learn to *speak* English, but also begin to *think* in English, our educational progress will be greatly delayed.

In stating earlier that our Indian schools have been only partially successful in teaching their students English, we referred to the fact that many of our present students, and large numbers of our adult Indian graduates, must translate ideas which they hear in English into their native tongue, in order to grasp important meanings and that in doing so, many meanings are lost. Many of our Indian listeners go through the clumsy process of turning our English questions or comments into Indian; phrase a reply in the native language; and then carefully translate it back into English speech. It is a slow and cumbersome process and liable to inaccuracies.

Even those Indian youngsters who enter school with varying amounts of English, frequently lack a common vocabulary, and do not understand much of what the teacher so glibly says in her own tongue. Here again our problem is not uniquely an Indian problem. It is one common to all schools serving a cosmopolitan population. New Jersey, with its second generation Italians and Poles; California, with its second generation Portuguese, and Mexicans, and New Mexico, with its Spanish-American population, are among the many states that face similar difficulties.

The problem of building a common vocabulary, in which each word has the same meaning to every child, is difficult enough at best. Our unfortunate obsession about the importance of learning to read immediately the child enters school only serves to complicate the problem. Learning to read is a wholly secondary problem to learning to talk. In fact, the first essential to intelligent comprehension is common understanding of simple meanings. If these are not gained, reading is not intelligible, and later learnings are bound to be confused. The first grade teacher, therefore, should be more concerned with helping her children to talk and think in English than with the problem of reading.

Strange as it may seem, fluent use of a native lauguage is more likely to contribute to the child's intellectual growth and ultimate mastery of English than is its suppression. The early years of a child's life are those in which he builds up his background of ideas and associations. A great majority of these are expressed through language. The more fluent he is in the use of language and the broader his vocabulary, the richer is the intellectual content of his mind. To inhibit conversation in any language during this period of rapid and spontaneous growth may penalize the child intellectually and permanently.

A majority of our Indian children today are coming to school voluntarily and with an attitude of curious interest similar to that animating a White child. Being part of a *group* of similar age is unusual and stimulating. Meeting a new and friendly person is interesting, after initial shyness wears off. Every natural response favors active learning of the new language, *provided* it remains an interesting challenge and not an experience surrounded by inhibitions and rebuffs.

Anyone who has tried to learn a foreign language in an American high school can remember how quickly self-conscious inhibitions in pronunciation, speech, and written expression were set up, as emphasis was placed on doing it *correctly*, rather than on just doing it.

Our non-English speaking young Indians need, therefore, the opportunities to learn English naturally in the course of activities inviting conversation. Our teachers must watch carefully their own expression of ideas, so that a few simple words and phrases are introduced at a time, and used with sufficient repetition to gain meaning.

Rather than sitting quietly in their seats, waiting a turn to rehearse a phrase, our children should be engaged in a variety of activities, primarily of the dramatic play type. Blocks, boxes, toys, paper and crayons, clay, and a variety of material which can be used in many ways for small group or individual building, drawing or making of things, is much more vital than books, for the first school year. And while this activity goes on, the natural quiet conversation growing out of such activities is to be encouraged. In this way, language expression has a normal opportunity to develop. Errors will be made, but can be ignored, for most important of all is to develop the desire to talk, and to furnish the opportunity to talk. The natural tendency to imitate can be counted on to correct many early mistakes of pronunciation or usage.

Such a classroom of active children will operate largely on its own motive power, which will allow the teacher, as a director, to pass from group to group, giving added stimulus and encouragement to the use of English in such conversational exchanges. She must not over-urge, but just naturally use, herself, simple, direct words and phrases, which the children will come to imitate.

When a class or group of children has come thus freely to exchange ideas, a foundation for learning has been laid. Such a foundation is just as possible among Indian children, as among White. Here and there, our teachers of Indian children have achieved it. It is a goal for all of us.

7. IMPROVISING MATERIALS

IN PASSING from school to school in the Indian Service, one is impressed with the absence of *materials* in the many elementary classrooms. Aside from furniture and a few books many of which are not as useful as they might be, rooms are bare. A comment on this fact is likely to draw a defensive explanation that supplies and equipment are difficult to get, in the Indian Service. Fortunately, this explanation is belied by other classrooms, and by reference to the general estimate catalog. In setting up the budget, the Office includes in the allotment for every Indian school each year an amount for the purchase of materials that may be needed, so that over a period of a few years, each classroom might be generously equipped. Listed in the catalog is a wide variety of desirable material which may be ordered with a minimum of trouble by any teacher, with the approval of her immediate superior. Paint, crayons, chalks, papers of all kinds, blocks, easels, brushes, cloth, tools, lumber and almost anything an ingenious teacher might need has been anticipated, and an opportunity to secure it is presented.

But of course, that includes only the prepared articles. If all of these were cancelled from the estimate lists, the environment of almost every school abounds in materials which might be adapted to classroom use. Remember that our Indian potters didn't order their clay from Drakenfeld, their basketry materials from Milton Bradley nor their skins from Alaska. These things were all drawn from their environment, and to the extent to which we are ignoring their environment or diverting their attention from it to dependence on prepared or manufactured materials, we are increasing the poverty of the Indian.

We may begin our analysis of the environment by examining the useful things which we bring into it and then fail to make use of.

There is hardly a school in the Service which does not receive materials in cans, but discards the cans, instead of preparing them for use in a variety of ways in the classroom. Any school or teacher who buys such things as Cream of Wheat, Quaker Oats, or Morton's Salt and fails to keep containers as substitutes for blocks, is lacking in ingenuity. Cardboard cartons of all types are pouring into our schools continuously and may be turned to a hundred uses in dramatic play. Wood and metal containers, and bottles may also serve their purpose as furniture, toys, and building materials for structures. This may require some planning on the part of those in charge of the educational program to insure that such materials are not thoughtlessly discarded. During the war, many of these items have a salvage value more important than classroom use, which should be considered.

But more important still, the great out of doors still produces the trees and grasses which went into primitive basket weaving, and the dyeing of materials. Clays in abundance for modeling and pottery, and earth colors for painting may be found, frequently in areas not before tapped for these materials, as on the Dakota reservations. Wood, grass and reeds must be dried and treated, shrubs must be boiled, sometimes with re-agents, to obtain their colors, clays must be pulverized, soaked and frequently mixed together or with sand before they will work smoothly and dry without cracking, leather must be tanned, but the very revival of primitive means of preparation is in itself a desirable objective of education. And the discovery and development of new materials which can be made useful, is equally desirable.

It is entirely conceivable that an exhaustive study of the immediate geographical environment might be a more useful investment of "Geography" time, than the study of Europe, South America or Africa in the elementary classroom. After all, how many classroom teachers retain a great deal of the geographical information they once studied, unless they are continuously teaching it? And how many are sufficiently concerned with its importance to be continually revising their own concepts in terms of modern discovery and change — but continue to teach from "the book" regardless of its date of copyright?

8. CLASSROOM BUILDING BLOCKS

THE average child carries on his own education at a very rapid rate during the early years of his life. The little bundle of potential animation which at birth possesses no conscious control of its musculature learns by trial and error and by imitation. In a few instances, over-anxious elders attempt to speed up the learning process, but the accumulating evidence points to the fact that aside from regularizing a sequence of events, or otherwise controlling the environment, they exert little influence. The maturing organism responds to its environment at a given rate, pretty much regardless of "instruction."

For instance: A baby learns to focus its eyes and coordinate its hand and eye movements by experimenting with hand and foot and eye, while it lies in its crib. Not expecting very much of a baby, we don't interfere with the process, and as a result the adaptation is usually successfully achieved during the first months of life. This leads to other discoveries in the three dimensional world, so that an appreciation of distance and placement keeps him from bumping into things. The experiences of blind persons who have regained sight at maturity, and had to learn this trick with great difficulty, disposes of all the earlier assumptions that children were born with a knowledge of how to use their stereoscopic vision.

Again: Through imitation, and an early discovery of the control over others which speech affords, the child learns to talk. Parents who try to hasten the adaptation usually muss up the process by fastening crude, unusual, or babyish expressions on children by accepting them as valid language. Children who are left pretty much to themselves but who are surrounded by good models of well-spoken language manage to do very well by themselves.

The same thing applies to movement from place to place. Each child appears to be an individualist in modes of getting around. Many crawl, others sit cross-legged and hunch themselves forward. When they are ready, both groups pull themselves upright, and travel from hand-hold to hand-hold. Finally when self confidence in legs is established, the child strikes out across the room unaided. All the father-fingers and patent "walkers" in the world don't seem to speed up the adaptation in any measurable amount. The presence of convenient hand-holds by which to struggle erect may facilitate that step in development, and will accomplish more than all the assistance which could be furnished by a host of helpful elders. It is the favorable environment, not the wishes of outsiders that conditions development.

In general, we recognize the truth of these statements as they apply to the growth and development of children under school age. Fortunately for them, their elders usually don't have much time to guide or interfere with their activities, so they respond to the environmental stimuli in their own good time.

Eating and excretory habits are best regularized by similarly "controlling the environment." The frequency with which young children desire to eat can be establishd by the frequency with which food is provided—of course within limits determined by the child's physical needs. If a child which awakes and cries at two o'clock in the morning is fed then, it will continue to awake and cry at two a. m. until fed. Usually, if it is not disturbed the first two or three times it awakes and cries, it will go back to sleep and remain peaceful until six or seven o'clock. In the same way if the opportunity to eliminate is presented at regular intervals after meals, when the peristaltic action of the alimentary canal is naturally excited, these functions will become regularized with little additional effort, and the child quickly trained to indicate the need of more frequent urinations. Any attempts to punish children for irregularities in such matters will usually result in delayed control, and possibly establish enuresis, constipation or other disturbance, for a prolonged period. Such matters need to be treated in a casual but regular manner.

In a similar way, hand washing and bathing may frequently become an established ritual with little conscious consideration, and so escape being the "issue" which they are in many families.

In all of these matters, a good model to imitate is probably of more value than anything else save the opportunity to respond to the environment. If the model is a person with whom the child identifies himself, his influence will be more effective; and the less the child becomes aware that his imitation is recognized as such by others, the stronger and more direct will be the imitation.

If these "rules of the game," which result in so much unforced learning on the part of the pre-school child could only be applied with youngsters when they come to school, how much more effective and easy the teaching and learning process would become. Teachers, however, are normally over-anxious to be doing something. They are frequently so concerned to be "teaching" that they entirely overlook the fact that the important thing is not their teaching, but the child's *learning*. And here we must reiterate what educators have been saying for many years — that *learning* comes through *doing*. One cannot learn tennis sitting in a chair; one cannot learn to talk simply by listening to others; one cannot imitate without action.

The good elementary classroom, then, is the one which provides the materials for active imitation; the good teacher is one who allows free play for constructive experiencing through activity. Primary seats and desks should be moveable, because otherwise they stultify activity. People who are *doing* things can't sit at a table much of the time; and furniture which is attached to the floor, either by screws or the teacher's sense of orderliness, simply pre-empts good space which can be better used for a thousand other purposes.

A good primary room will have lots of blocks available for building many things. Younger children need larger and heavier blocks. This may sound anomalous, but it isn't. The purpose for which blocks are used changes with growth and maturity. A dozen one-foot cubes of one-inch smooth surfaced pine or fir lumber, with an equal number which are a foot square and two feet long, of the same material, will form excellent building material for younger children. The larger blocks should have hand grips cut into the square ends and should be carefully sandpapered to eliminate splinters. Later this menace may be decreased, and an interesting project provided, by having the children paint the blocks. Any school shop can make blocks of this kind, so there need be no excuse for not having them.

The value of these larger blocks is that they provide opportunities for big muscle exercise, and cooperative action. They also will serve to meet many of the imaginative demands of a six-year-old group.

Another type of block should be available for the next older group in primary classrooms. These are smaller and lighter and made of one-half inch wood or three-ply veneer. The smallest unit should be a foot square and six inches thick; the next unit, six inches square and two feet long; the third unit two feet long, a foot wide, and six inches thick. Two of either of the smaller units will be equivalent to one of the larger. Any room of thirty children could profitably use two dozen each of these blocks. A few of triangular shape, one foot on each leg of the triangle, and six inches thick will prove useful. These also may be made in any school shop. The children will undertake much more elaborate construction with these blocks, and a valuable type of cooperative, imaginative, and dramatic play will be undertaken, if they are allowed sufficient freedom.

All of this will involve conversation, and with a very little example and direct encouragement from the teacher, this will gradually be in English.

Blocks aren't enough, of course. There should be several good-sized dolls, to act as babies, which are part of any well regulated family. Some sturdy four-wheeled cart should be available; and boxes and cartons. Smaller blocks — two or three inch cubes, and larger units based on these dimensions, should be furnished, for they make excellent cargo. Short planks an inch wide, and three or four feet long, are also very useful for bridges, roofs, walks, and many other similar purposes.

Later on, a set of smaller blocks, like those developed by the City and Country School, New York City, (the design of which may be obtained from 69 Bank Street, New York City) may enlarge the area of imaginative construction. These latter require the use of bench saws and lathes in the manufacture and are therefore more difficult to manufacture or expensive to buy, but ultimately may well find a place in a school of several primary rooms, where they may be moved from room to room as "needed."

Small wooden or clay figurines of men or animals can be modeled or carved, and when painted, contribute to the interest of imitative play. Things like these don't need to be perfect, merely identifiable. The fact that our children are Indians, in no wise detracts from the value of such materials. In all of this constructive activity, the wise teacher will be observer, playing the game of visitor, ignorant "stranger," curious friend, as the case may be, contributing thus informally a variety of opportunities for imaginative conversational response.

9. READING: A NEW SKILL

WHITE and Amerind children have a very different background of reading readiness. The day to day experiences of White children unconsciously impress them with the importance of reading in the lives of their elders. It is an unusually poor White home that does not receive either a daily or weekly newspaper. Except in the most remote areas, magazines are not uncommon and books find a place in many homes. Even though it be only a Bible, few White families in this country, of whatever racial origin, are completely without reading matter.

Packaged foods come in print-covered containers, our roads are plastered with advertising and directional signs, even the windows and counters of the most primitive store carry written intelligence of the business being carried on. Those of us who live in cities and who encounter a continous barrage of printed directions, find it difficult to imagine life without the written word.

White children from the earliest moment that they are conscious of their environment become increasingly aware of the powerful force exerted by written symbols upon the life about them. What American parent has not had to answer the question, "What does that say?" almost continuously from his child's fourth birthday.

By many children, school is looked forward to as the welcome agency which will give them some of the power over these mystic symbols which their elders possess.

Skillful teachers in our better White schools realize this potent force of print, and plan their classroom activities in such a way as to intensify its importance in relation to the interests and needs of each individual child. Day by day the child meets repeated occasions when he needs to read in order to satisfy his own desires. When the stage has been set thus skillfully, the teaching of reading has become, not a series of tasks imposed by the teacher upon reluctant pupils, but the skillful direction of children in the satisfaction of their own definitely sensed and expressed needs. To do this involves thoughtful understanding of the technical difficulties encountered in reading, which will be discussed at another time, but to the teachers of Indian children these difficulties are secondary. Many of our Indian first graders come to school without knowing that *thought can be recorded.*

When White men landed on the North American continent, no Indian tribe, so far as we now know, had developed a system of written records. After contact with Whites and learning the principles of phonetic writing, Sequoyah, a mixed blood Cherokee leader during the period when the tribe still occupied its original eastern home, developed an alphabet[1] and gave to his people a written language. No other North American Indian leader has duplicated this achievement.

Here and there, missionaries have struggled with the problem of writing the native languages and the work of Riggs and Evans has formed the foundation of a written language for the Dakota, the Sac and Fox, the Kickapoo and other northern tribes in the U. S. and Canada. However, aside from the Bible and a few religious tracts, little is published in these languages.

At no time until very recently have more than a fraction of eligible Indians been in school, learning English, and many of the limited number who have acquired the ability to read are living in areas where books have not penetrated and where even newspapers are scarce and lacking in content.

Therefore, today, thousands of our Indian children are being raised in homes in which the written word is almost as unknown as before the coming of the Whites. This is particularly true in the Southwest, but presents a real problem throughout the American country, especially in full-blood communities.

Youngsters raised in homes where reading is unknown come to school almost completely lacking in readiness for reading. They do not even know that language may be expressed in symbols. Not having been read to by their parents, they do not look upon books as treasuries of fascinating stories, repositories of the answers to recurrent questions, and sources of interest or amusement, as most White children do. Not having been exposed to billboards, newspaper and magazine advertising, and the multitude of other magnifications of print, they lack familiarity with type forms and have never entered the "what does it say" stage of curiosity, normal to White children.

Those who suffer from the additional handicap of coming from homes in which English is unknown and a native language alone is spoken, complicate the teacher's problem still further. Neither they, their parents, nor their parents' parents, have experienced a need for reading, nor have they known that written symbols of thought may play a large part in life.

With them the spoken word serves all purposes. As among the Pima, tribal history and knowledge of how to behave, is learned from the old men, who repeat from memory the traditions which they as youths learned by heart from the old men of that day, who in turn were passing on a story memorized from the accounts of other old men.

In an agency which depends so heavily on written "memoranda" as does the Indian Service, it may be difficult to understand a culture which depends exclusively on personal memory — and where unpleasant agreements are not conveniently forgotten. But that is what many Indian children have been brought up to accept as natural—and the public school with its concern with reading, injects a new and unexpected concept.

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[1] Actually a syllabary.

This is an added reason, to those discussed earlier, for the postponement of emphasis on learning to read. Reading skills are acquired most readily by children who understand the value of reading, who in their own experience have wanted to unravel the mysteries of the printed or written symbol, and who because of these experiences find learning to read a purposeful, desirable and interesting activity. The difference in receptivity between a group of children thus "conditioned" or prepared for reading, and a group who have no interest, but are just "being taught," is sufficiently great to justify taking time in order to prepare them for reading.

Of course where the children come to school without knowledge of English, it is not only a waste of time but a serious detriment to the learning process, to complicate the language problem by attempting to introduce the added difficulty of reading during the first school year. Picture books of familiar things containing a minimum of reading should be left around on tables, or shelves, conveniently accessible during periods when children may voluntarily consult them. Until fairly broad spoken vocabularies have been developed, care should be taken to see that pictures are representative of familiar things. A picture book of ferry-boats or fire engines would be out of place in the midst of an Indian reservation where such things are unknown and where there are no occasions for their use, through which they might be explained. The old fashioned "alphabet book" of animals which started with "Antelope" and "Baboon" and ended with "Yak" and "Zebra" has even less place in an Indian School.

One has only to remember the pleasure with which children listen to the countless repetitions of a familiar story; the delight with which a baby recognizes and identifies the picture of a familiar object, to realize the soundness of building the learning process on a gradual expansion of ideas about already familiar objects or experiences. New ideas may be introduced gradually, provided care is taken to review them with sufficient frequency and variety so as to assure them a permanent place in the child's mental equipment.

As children enrich their conversational vocabularies through forms of dramatic play, countless opportunities will be presented in which it will be possible to convey the idea that symbols exist for recording the names of objects. Later, but with care to see that the ideas expressed are of sufficient simplicity, blackboard records of ideas and events, plans and purposes, may be introduced.

Provided the teacher can supply a large enough variety of simple things to work with and talk about, so that the individuals in a class may be kept constructively active and talking among themselves, children should not be urged to learn to read. If during this time, the teacher finds frequent opportunity to read to the children out of simple, copiously illustrated books about Indians, books may come to have significance. The children should be shown the pictures and copies of the book should be left where the children may look at the pictures by themselves. The children should be encoured to draw pictures illustrating their daily experiences and then may be asked to tell the simple stories which their own drawings illustrate, and the teacher can write these on the margin. The story may then be retold again and again. Until experiences like these lead the children to express a desire to read for themselves, any attempt at instruction in reading may well be postponed. This may require months of waiting, during which every stimulus is given to fluent use of English conversation.

If by the end of the second or third grade, Indian children have learned to read simple material fluently, a teacher can afford to be gratified by her success. If by the end of the first or second year, Indian children are as repressed and untalkative as is today the case in some of our schools, the teacher may have good cause to examine with concern the learning hazards which she has created for her children, and consider a major modification in her teaching methods.

10. READING CHARTS

MANY of us can recall a story of our childhood which told us how the birds learned to build their nests. The first bird listened to a very small part of the directions that were given, then exclaimed, "Oh, I see" and flew away. Thereafter, her nest was built in a crude fashion based on the limited directions to which she had listened. So it was with most of the birds. They listened to a part, but did not wait for the whole story. Consequently, their nests were inferior.

The parable of the birds is repeated oftentimes by teachers of reading. A new idea is advocated, or a new name for an old idea is coined and some seize upon it as the whole story. This happened when the term "experience reading" was first used.

Making use of experience reading is sound method providing it is used to accomplish the purposes for which it is intended. It is poor method when it is used as the only way for developing reading skills with all children.

In the teaching of reading, method is secondary to child development. Development is dependent upon experiences, actual and vicarious. Concepts and ideas are developed through experiences. A background of experiences must precede the development of both oral and written language.

Oral language precedes reading. Children must be able to see the relationship of ideas and they must be able to express them in oral language before they are expected to handle those same ideas in written form. This calls for much oral expression in the teaching of beginners.

Following oral expression, teachers and students often make charts which serve as written record of particular experiences. In brief this outlines the psychology behind and the steps leading to the making of an experience chart. From such a chart the following values may be derived:

1. *Social.* The children work as a group with the teacher in composing the chart. There is a free exchange of ideas in which certain social habits such as consideration for others, tolerance of other viewpoints, politeness, taking turns, etc. can become desirable outcomes.

2. *Oral Language.* In recording their common experiences the children experiment with ideas in order to say them in the best possible way. This provokes oral discussion. Ideas are critically evaluated. New ways of expressing ideas as well as vocabulary are developed.

3. *Interest in Reading.* Although the child has not learned to recognize written words as symbols for his concepts, he sees that what he says can be written. Incidentally he becomes interested in such symbols, and begins to ask what "this says" under a picture or what "that says" on the bulletin board.

4. *Reading Mechanics.* In the initial stage of reading, children must be taught to follow a line from left to right, and to make the return eye sweep from one line of print to the next. As the children watch the

teacher record their expressions on the chart they begin to acquire a feeling for left to right progression.

Before a child is ready to read he must be able to recognize likenesses and differences. As the teacher prints the words she may call attention to how words are similar and different. In this way she can develop incidentally certain reading skills. Some children will begin to recognize words that appear frequently in a chart and thus learn to recognize the word. However, it must be borne in mind that such recognition is merely incidental. Only a very few of the most exceptional children will gain all of the skills of recognition necessary in order to read, from experience charts. Experiences are varied. Therefore, vocabulary to express such experiences must be varied. Much of the vocabulary used in one day's chart will probably not be repeated in the next chart. Consequently vocabulary is introduced at such a rapid rate that only the exceptional child can keep the pace. The teacher can control the vocabulary to some extent, but the control necessary for adequate repetition demands skill and time that the average teacher cannot devote to it. In addition, expression is stilted by too much control. Experience charts aid in the development of skills of recognition, but they should not be used as the only means of building such skills.

5. *Comprehension.* The complaint is made over and over, "My children can read but they do not understand what they read. What is the matter?" The answer usually is — your children have acquired the mechanics of reading without realizing that printed words are merely symbols used to call up concepts. They really are not reading. They are just calling words. The use of experience charts shows the child, even before he has acquired the mechanics of reading, that printed words are used to say in writing what he says orally. It develops reading for meaning, because from the very beginning the child learns to associate words with meaning.

Experience charts are valuable then in building interest in reading, in laying the foundation for certain reading mechanics that will be stressed later, in developing social habits, and in developing comprehension. Experience charts are indispensable in developing reading readiness, but they cannot be used to teach all children to read. They are an essential part, but not the whole story.—*Hildegard Thompson*

11. EXPERIENCE READING

OUR democratic system is built upon such things as freedom of speech and of press. Our economic system is built upon such things as facility with the spoken and the written word. Reading and writing have an amazingly important place in the American way of life.

The White child is conditioned to reading and to writing almost as soon as he can talk. Long before he realizes what writing is, he is surrounded with books, with newspapers and with magazines. He grows up recognizing the necessity for written expression. He never questions this need. He accepts the learning procedures involved. Reading and writing for him are the logical outgrowths of talking.

It is different with the Indian child. His cultural background has contained little need for a written language. His ancestors depended upon speech and when records or duplications were needed, elaborate formulae were memorized.

The Indian school teacher thus is confronted with the task of teaching a new spoken language as well as with the teaching and writing of this language.

The first step, of course, is equipping the child with an adequate English vocabulary, getting him to talk in English, giving him something to talk about, furnishing a need and inciting a desire for speech. Remember that the White child has four or five years for this inoculation. Most Indian children have one year.

Too many teachers begin reading and writing lessons before the little Indian knows how or wants to talk the English tongue. How can he read other people's thoughts before he can recognize or express his own?

The ability to express oneself is nurtured by the opportunity of experiencing, the necessity of comparison, and the art of interpretation, to give forth again in words.

Speech comes first. The child must have a good working vocabulary which enables him to free his thoughts, unrestricted and unhampered. He must become used to the strange sounds of English words. He must become familiar with English word meanings. He must become adept in phrase and sentence usuage. He must have pleasure and confidence in English speech.

After and not before this is attained, comes the readiness to read.

This is a crucial point in the educational life of the Indian and here teachers fail. They fail because they rush the reading-learning without a spoken vocabulary foundation. They fail because the reading matter is foreign to the child's experience. He has not done it. He has no knowledge with which to compare it. It is an unfamiliar thing, therefore he can not interpret. There are many excellent pre-primers to use, but even the best are far removed from many Indian children's life experiences.

Most of our books are written for the White child and not for the Indian child. Later, these books must be met and mastered, but at this early date the child should live his reading lessons.

For this reason too much stress can not be put on experience reading material. First the experience or activity, then the written record, then the reading. Teacher and children work together on this. While the sentence giving should be spontaneous on the part of the children, there must be quiet, careful, expert guidance on the part of the teacher. The teacher must see that the sentence content is within the reading comprehension of the child, that the development is logical, the meaning clear, the phrasing practical. Practical phrasing means using word groups that can be used over and over in new situations.

There is a tendency to have the reading lessons too long, the reading vocabulary too difficult, the reading steps not consecutively spaced and with not enough phrase repetition. There is too much variety in subject matter. For instance, it is an economic loss in vocabulary usage to jump from stories about "Our Post Office" to stories about "The Chicken Coop." This jumping about with unrelated stories using different vocabularies shows a lack of careful yearly planning on the part of the teacher. The same words and the same phrases should be used over and over in new situations. To do this it is necessary to have gradual growth in subject matter materials with the known vocabulary determining to a great extent the new activity which will result in the reading lesson.

The teacher must prepare the approach carefully with thought of what has preceded. The reading lesson must be worked upon immediately after the daily activity has been completed. Thus the series of reading lessons grow as the project unfolds.

Preparing the reading lesson from the day's activity should take place at the blackboard where needed erasures and changes can be made. After both the teacher and the class are satisfied with the lesson, it is transferred to a chart. With the younger children the teacher does the printing. Perfection is imperative. A committee of children, class chosen, decides upon and draws the illustration.

These charts should be kept as guide and check for the teacher in determining reading progress. They should be kept for class reading, for the review value, and also to give the child a sense of reading achievement. When the children memorize or grow tired of the story, rotate the charts in the same way toys and library books are rotated. When the story appears again on the chart rack, it will be greeted as a welcome friend.

Later, collections of these stories can be mimeographed and bound into books for the children to take home. Collecting, mimeographing and binding books is an excellent activity for restless spring days. Great care should be taken to obtain legible mimeographing. Sloppy mimeographing is inexcusable. If stories are worth collecting and saving, they deserve careful duplicating and strong, attractive bindings. These stories should not be signed individually unless they are the absolute product of an individual. If it is teacher-pupil work, and it should be at this stage, it must be signed by teacher and pupils or as a group, or not signed at all.

If these stories are good enough to be collected into permanent form, several copies should be made for the classroom library and several copies sent with the children to their new classroom the following year. This gives the new teacher a standard for the new year's planning. It also saves unnecessary duplication of materials.

Recently, with very good results, the following experience reading lessons were presented to a group of first grade children who had been reading for several months.

The lessons immediately preceding this were about the class doll. "We have, We like, It is pretty, We wash, We wash with soap and water, We made clean" had been used, thereby making a familiar vocabulary foundation for the new lessons.

Preparation for the new work was made by slipping daily a new flash card among the old ones.

First Week

(first day) We have a table

(second day) We like the table

(third day) The table is pretty

(fourth day) We have a pretty table

(fifth day) The table is not pretty it is not a pretty table

Second Week (also repeat first)

(first day) We wash the table

We rub the table

We paint the table

(second day) We rub with sandpaper

We made it smooth

We paint the table yellow

(third day) We made the table smooth

We have sandpaper

(fourth day) We like sandpaper

We like paint

Beginning the third week, the children were made conscious of the dirtiness and drabness of an old kindergarten table. Naturally, they decided to do something about it. Daily, as work on the table was completed, a new story about the table was compiled by a group. It was then that the new flash cards of the preceding weeks bore fruit. The children subconsciously repeated them. With older children this is not a good practice as it tends to limit their expression and it should never be used in any age group where creative writing is desired. For experience reading with young children who are groping for English phrasing and where a controlled vocabulary is necessary, it is a good procedure.

The group-made stories resulting from the refinishing the table activity follow:

(first day) Name of story series,
The table
(lesson)
We have a table.
The table is not pretty.
We like a pretty table.
(second day)
We wash the table.
We wash the table with water.
We wash the table with soap.
We wash the table
with soap and water.
(third day)
We wash the table.
We like to wash the table.
We make the table clean.
It is a clean table.
(fourth day)
We rub the table.
We rub the table with sandpaper.
We rub and rub.
Sandpaper made the table smooth.
It is a smooth table.
(fifth day)
We like to paint.
We paint the table.
We paint the table yellow.
We like to paint with yellow.
It is a yellow table.
It is a pretty table.
We like the pretty, yellow table.

This did not take too long a period because the two weeks' preparation consisted of but a small fraction of the daily flash card drill. One week was given to the activity and to the compiling of the daily stories. The two weeks following this were given to review reading of the table stories and to the preparation of flash card material introducing a new activity. The teacher hoped that this new activity would develop around the using of the table. If subtle guidance could do it, she hoped the children would make clay dishes for the table.

With older children too much teacher guidance is a bad procedure. For young children it is necessary and any let-up on the teacher's part must be gradual and determined by the ability and personality of the class. It can not be standardized.

Experience reading should begin with the first reading group, but it should not end there. From pre-primer to high school seniors there is need for reading materials based upon the life situations of the readers. The older groups are more capable of and more interested in individual work in the form of achievement recordings, diaries and imaginative stories in which the hero is always the writer.

There is, however, another type of class-group reading materials which increases in necessity as the child grows older. From about fifth grade level up, the textbooks and reference readings are too complex in expression for average bilingual children to master with alacrity. These materials need to be edited, deleted and simplified by teacher and class working together.

A good example of this recently was completed by a social science teacher of the Sells Day School. Working together as a group, the class rewrote their social science text. Before the year was completed, the children were using a great number of reference books to supplement the needed knowledge not contained in the original text. The book they compiled was good enough to use as a social science reader in other schools.

From pre-primer through high school all

kinds of group-made reading materials are needed and valuable. However along with this, from the first signs of readiness until the last day of school, all age pupils should be encouraged to carry on a related learning where the stress is on individual writing instead of group writing and on individual facility in expression instead of individual facility in reading.—*Clark*

12. THE WISDOM OF THE WORLD LIES IN BOOKS

IT HAS been pointed out frequently that because many Amerind children enter school unable to speak the English language, one of the primary responsibilities of the first grade teacher is to provide manifold activities which will stimulate the oral use of English. Until a child has gained the ability to express himself orally in a language, any attempt to teach reading is a waste of time. A concentrated effort should be made to provide a continuous variety of purposeful activities which may produce an understanding of the English language, a desire to use the English language, and frequent opportunities for experience in its use. People who can not speak a language will inevitably have difficulty in learning to read the language which they don't speak. However this is no generalized condemnation of using books, as soon as their use becomes appropriate.

As a matter of fact the right kind of book in the right place is the essence of the educational process. If the products of our schools are ever to become really educated they must leave school with the conviction that in printed records of the race can be found the key to intellectual growth and development. Schools and universities at best can offer no more than the merest introduction to education. Here and there the school opens a door in the vast edifice of knowledge and offers to the student a glimpse of the treasures which await him within. Whether he will enter and make himself master of any of these treasures rests with the individual and not with the school. But ultimate mastery can be accomplished only through the medium of books.

There would be no value to literacy if there were no books to read, and one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Indian Service since its inception has been that it has spent its time and money teaching Indians how to read, without providing an adequate body of literature available to the adult Indian with which he can pursue his education.

Every outlying day school needs a variety of books for use by adults as well as by children, and it is for this reason that library rooms have been incorporated in all recent plans for larger day and boarding schools. It is an easy fallacy for a teacher to assume that what he teaches by itself constitutes education. By so assuming, he deludes countless students into the same belief, thereby setting definite limits upon their educability. If teachers of English literature could only realize that at very best they can introduce children merely to a sampling of the world's good literature and that to be effective this sampling should be chosen with a view to intriguing the interests of the student so that he will desire to explore on his own initiative more and more of the same.

There is no list of books which contains all of the world's wisdom, and there is no single book so valuable that it must be read by every individual. After the child has acquired the techniques with which to gain ideas from the printed page, his ultimate education depends upon the success with which the teacher can persuade him that the world possesses many books which it will give him both pleasure and profit to read. Thereafter the school may offer practice in reading and present a richly diversified reading fare, seeking in every way to stimulate in each individual an insatiable desire for knowledge and vicarious experience which can be satisfied only through more books.

And on our Indian reservations for some time to come, our school libraries must fulfill the role of the public library in the average large community, in furnishing books and magazines for adult as well as pupil use.

13. THINKING IN NUMBERS

A WHITE child lives in a world of numbers. Almost the first words that he learns are the counting nursery rhymes from "Patty Cake, Patty Cake" with its concept of duality, on through numerous other nonsense verse as far as the idea of the number ten. Almost the first toys that he plays with are blocks, with their pictured objects and symbols, that he handles and arranges into group patterns of twos and threes and fours. Almost the first action game that the child is taught is the counting of his toes and fingers.

As the child grows older, quantitative thinking, measurements of size, of distance, of degree and of time keep pace with his growing vocabulary and his widening experiences. This could not help but be true, for the child's heritage and his environment have to do with a civilization and a world that is number conscious.

By the time school age has been reached the average White child knows numbers. He not only can count by rote, but he has fairly clear number concepts and has begun to think in terms of quantity. He is familiar with number symbols — house, street, apartment, car license plates, telephone, calendar dates, book pages, clock face figures, and so on. Most of his games are competitive,—counting to jump-rope, jacks, marbles, and in playing store. All this is true because the world in which he lives is founded upon an understanding and a usage of the number system.

But what about the Indian child? His first stories are nature and animal stories. His first actions are the ritual dance steps. His games are guessing games or games of seeing-and-doing skills. He is not number conscious. His concept of numbers is one and more than one. Buying and selling and the exchange of money, working for wages, dividing his day by the ticking of a clock are the acquired knowledge of adults. They are not natural to the child. The world in which he lives is founded upon an understanding and a usage of nature. It does not segregate or numeralize. It is not acquisitive.

When the Indian child comes to school he not only does not know the names of the digits, but he does not have the concepts and he has not felt any definite need for them. He does not have number readiness. He must be introduced to even the simplest number ideas. The way beginning arithmetic is presented to the Indian child has an important bearing on his arithmetic thinking throughout his life and also upon his thinking in general. Next to learning to speak English with ease and understanding, learning to think arithmetically may be a most vital need for an Indian child. This is because arithmetic is based upon logic and reasoning and if properly taught involves the solving of new problems through the application of known facts.

What then are some of the ways to help

an Indian child to think in arithmetic terms?

Drill, probably, is the most common form used in most schools. Although drill is necessary, it certainly is not the first step, nor should it be over emphasized in the Indian class room. Indian education traditionally is based upon observation, imitation, repetition, memory and precedent. When life followed a more patterned and less varied way than it now does, such an education was adequate. But it is not adequate in the modern world. Indian children must be given skill in thinking out new solutions for new problems, rather than be allowed to follow a memorized tradition and to be at a loss if the situation is at all changed.

Too much drill work tends to leave the Indian child with a mass of memorized data and no idea of how or when to apply it.

A second method of teaching arithmetic is found in the activity program. This way is much better than drill, but it does not cover all the needs. Even the best activity can only supply motivation. Even the best activity will not give any great amount of instruction in any subject. Its instruction is incidental, and incidental arithmetic is not enough for the child who has no arithmetical background nor any individual incentive toward that way of thought. If he is to acquire clear number concepts and the ability to think quantitatively he must have a planned and a regular system of instruction and practice. Incidental work is not emphatic enough to be retained, it does not have enough repetition and it seldom follows in logical steps. Incidental work often takes too much for granted as to the child's readiness and understanding.

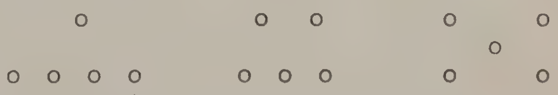
Indian children must be taught to understand the number system. They must be given the ability to think quantitatively. Clear, vivid and emphatic concepts must be formed, must be retained, must become an unconscious part of their thinking.

Everyone knows the four steps in beginning arithmetic teaching as presented by most Normal Schools, but many teachers of Indian schools do not know that a much different emphasis should be placed upon the teaching of these steps to Indian children.

In the first place teachers are prone to take for granted that the Indian child has number readiness, which usually he does not have. Teachers should not forget that they are starting from scratch. There are no concepts, there is no familiarity with symbols and there has not been a feeling of need.

A great part of the day for the beginning class should be the seeing and touching and handling of objects. Long before they are counted they should be handled and grouped. The idea of grouping is the keynote of success. When counting is first began, if the objects are grouped instead of put in lines, the task from there on will be much easier.

Step one, counting of objects, and step two, the transfer from objects that can be handled, to pictured objects that can merely be seen, takes about the same emphasis for the Indian child that it does for the White. But step three, in which the transfer is made from objects to the learning and manipulation of symbols should be emphasized much more for the Indian than for the White. This may be taught by the grouping of dots, lines, rings. Big bold dots serve well for the beginning of such presentation. This appears to be something that is "natural" for the Indian child to do. He likes to group his dots in design patterns. He likes to know that



are five. In a short time he has a concept of five that is much more understandable to him than one boy and one boy and one boy and one boy and one boy, mean five boys. When a White child thinks "five" he almost always thinks five objects, but many Indian children appear to accept more readily a grouped design of five. It is very confusing to think five objects, name them in English, line them in a row and then touch them mentally and give to each its English number name.

Even small Indians can handle design groupings with ease and enjoyment through "seven"at least. Eight and nine are a little difficult at first. For White children this step is rarely stressed because it tends to formulate the habit of counting the individual dots, but Indian children seem to take the grouping as a whole, a pattern, a design that has its specified name.

If this step is used along with rote counting and emphatically before symbol reading, it seems to do away with the necessity of separating a number into its units, and seeing, touching, and naming each unit separately. By the time the class is ready for combinations, the teacher will discover that they know many already.—*Clark.*

14. HOW MUCH DRILL?

THERE is much disagreement among educators regarding the place of drill in the curriculum. Such disagreement varies in degree from the individual whose whole teaching begins with, centers around, and ends with drill, to the extremist in the opposite sense who thinks that all drill is taboo. The first individual is a drill teacher in every sense of the word. If he is teaching arithmetic he begins with the fixing of the mathematical symbol instead of the development of the mathematical concept. If he is teaching reading he emphasizes the mechanics of reading to the detriment of meaning. In English he begins with the development of grammatical principles and rules, instead of developing facility in the use of language. In social studies and science he emphasizes the acquisition of a body of factual subject matter instead of using facts in the solution of problems arising in the student's daily living.

The extremist in the opposite sense feels that drill has no place in his teaching. He has seen children subjected to intensive drills in arithmetic who emerged with no understanding of number. He has encountered children who could glibly pronounce words without any understanding of what they meant. He has found students versed in technical and formal grammar who could not write a decent letter. He concludes then that drill adds nothing to meaning, therefore should be ostracized.

Such extreme points of view and practices arise from a lack of real understanding of the purposes which drill should serve.

In learning the use of the typewriter the learner must practice in order to free his thinking from the mechanical operation of his typewriter. Without such practice he could never develop the skill necessary for success in his vocation. Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation must be marksmen. They must have been born with a keen eye and a steady nerve yet it takes practice to perfect their skill. The same is true with the dancer, the sportsman, the musician and the craftsman.

In every day living there is need for perfection in certain fundamental skills. Very few of us can get by without the knowledge of arithmetic fundamentals. Although it is possible to arrive at correct results by other means than an immediate recall, it is economy in the long run to know the result automatically. Ability to read depends upon certain skills which must become mechanical if reading is to be proficient. Drill then, is useful in developing skills for efficient living.

To begin drill before meaning has been established is futile, so far as real learning is concerned. It results in parrot-like repetition and manifests itself in the individual who can pronounce words, but cannot read; who can repeat arithmetic combinations without having any concept of number; and who can recite rules of grammar, yet uses atrocious English. Such conditions are results of methods which emphasize the symbol before the development of understanding.

Children are individuals. Their physical and intellectual equipment as well as their educational background and interests vary. Therefore, their needs must vary. Not all individuals in a class will learn 9 plus 6 with the same number of repetitions. Neither will they learn to recognize written symbols in the same number of exposures. The type of practice suitable for one individual may be a waste of time for another. To subject all to the same drill is deadly to some. Inherent in all drill must be consideration for individual needs, and the teacher as well as student should be aware of those needs.

Much drill is deadly dull because the pupil has no desire to achieve the skill involved. It is an assigned task set by the teacher without regard to pupil interest. In that way much of its possible effectiveness is lost. The marksman practices to achieve an accuracy which he *desires* to attain, the runner trains for long months because he *wants* to win a race, the real musician practices for hours each day because he himself is his own most severe critic. The teacher *assigns* drill in arithmetic or spelling because she believes it to be uninteresting—rather than making an effort to develop in each child through experiences, the feeling of need to know the number combinations or the meaning of words. Once the *need to know* is felt by the child, arithmetic drill becomes as purposeful as rifle shooting or practicing dancing. And not until such purpose accompanies drill, does efficient learning begin to take place.

Summary—Drill serves its purpose when it aims at efficient habit formation. Development of meaning should precede drill. In all drill there should be consideration of individual student needs. Drill to be most efficient must be purposeful in the mind of the child.—*Hildegard Thompson*

15. HOW TO TEACH SIMPLE ARITHMETIC

THERE are few elementary subjects which are easier to teach, but usually more poorly taught, than arithmetic. Much of the difficulty grows out of the fact that a great deal of piecemeal research has been done in the field of arithmetic and many erroneous conclusions as to procedure have been based on inadequate evidence.

Take a few cases in point. Clapp of Wisconsin discovered by tests that certain arithmetic combinations were missed more frequently than others by children who were supposed to have learned the combinations. He thereupon advanced the theory that these combinations: six and seven, six and eight, seven and eight, and a few others like them, presented peculiar psychological difficulties in learning. Several sets of arithmetic texts were written in the light of these conclusions. A later investigation showed that the "difficulties" were not in the least peculiar, but consisted largely in the fact that the average arithmetic text presented these combinations much less frequently than the "easier" ones because they appeared later in the book. Each combination was reviewed frequently after it was introduced and there was simply less time and opportunity to review the later combinations. Given the same amount of drill, the difficulties tended to disappear.

Thorndyke made a great deal of the fact that subtraction was merely the reverse of addition, division the reverse multiplication, etc., and wrote a series of texts in which a few combinations were presented as addition and then reintroduced immediately as subtraction. There is now evidence that while this logical connection was comprehensible to adults interested in analyzing arithmetical processes, it was merely confusing to many children who weren't quite sure about addition itself.

Other students of the subject, convinced that arithmetic was foundational to the study of mathematics and urgently anxious to be about the higher processes, tried crowding arithmetic and the simpler phases of mathematics down lower in the grades. Algebra was once a freshman subject at Harvard. Now we often attempt some Algebra in the lower junior high school grades. There was a time in 1915 and 1916 when Frederic Burk, President of the San Francisco State Teachers College, impressed with the arithmetical precocity of some children, introduced the teaching of number combinations into the kindergarten. A decade ago, the studies of the committee of seven of the Northern Illinois Conference on Supervision[1] established pretty conclusively that there is an optimum age-grade for the presentation of the several arithmetical processes—and it isn't the kindergarten by a long shot. If children approaching eight years of age at the end of the second grade have *mastered* the addition combinations they are doing well.

In fact the work of the committee of seven indicates that the completion of addition and all of subtraction may be expected by mental age 9; multiplication facts whose products are less than 20, and addition columns not more than three digits wide and three high are to be expected by mental age 10; addition and subtraction of decimals, addition and subtraction of like fractions and simple mixed numbers by mental age 11; multiplication facts whose products exceed 20, compound multiplication, division facts and simple division by mental age 12; long division, multiplication and division of fractions, meaning of fractions, case I and case II of percentage by mental age 13; completion of long division, addition and subtraction of unlike fractions and mixed numbers, simple linear measure by mental age 14; denominate numbers, all forms of practical linear and square measure by mental age 15.

It will be seen that an acceptance of these conclusions would result in withholding much more work in arithmetic for later grades than has been common practice for some years.

Several recent writers have made a great deal of the fact that children forget much of what they are taught and therefore need continuously, regular and scientifically prepared reviews in order to keep alive familiarity with the arithmetic facts. The Bronxville Schools, however, over a series of years (1928-1936) demonstrated that if the arithmetic facts of each process are *taught to mastery* before a new process is introduced, the amount of review occurring naturally in the course of the year's work will serve to preserve that mastery relatively intact.

In revolt against the dull and meaningless drudgery of old style arithmetic drill, the

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[1] See 38th Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education. Chapter XVI., Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Illinois.

"progressives" of a quarter of a century ago fulminated against *useless* drill and demanded that the arithmetic fundamentals be presented in meaningful situations and relationships. While the insistence is sound that it is easier for children to learn things when they see some meaning to the material which is being presented, many teachers, more sentimental than competent in their psychology, took it for granted that interesting activities involving need for the arithmetic combinations should be adequate to fix all of the combinations in the minds of all the children. This was a foolish notion at best, but salved the conscience of many a teacher who didn't like to impose arithmetical drill.

While an extreme situation might be imagined in which meaningful activities might be devised which would "fix" the four hundred basic combinations of the fundamental processes in the mind of some child —it would probably involve an extravagantly wasteful use of the teacher's time who devised them. Successful and efficient teaching of arithmetic, however, demands an intelligent combination of well planned activities which contribute to understanding and will continuously present the need for the facts and processes of arithmetic, and then an equally continuous and varied series of drill experiences which will *fix* each of these facts in the memory of each child.

Preparing to build a chicken house or chicken yard, buying chicken feed, collecting eggs, estimating costs; or planning, planting and harvesting a school or community garden; planning, buying the material and making window curtains, are but suggestive activities out of the many hundred which should be present in the daily life of any school, many of which can be used to demonstrate the need for and application of arithmetic. In fact it is not usually necessary to concoct such experiences—it is merely incumbent upon the teacher to recognize the phases of daily classroom living which have arithmetical aspects which can be shared with the children. Hourly readings of the thermometer during the winter, to insure against overheating; pupil weight records; daily attendance records; quantities of supplies used in the day to day lessons, are a few of the obvious ones which are part of the teacher's daily work and often done by her rather than the children, because it is easier to do it that way.

The fixing of the facts in the memory, however, depends upon varied and ample opportunities for drill and review, suited to the *needs* of each child. That means additional work of a kind for the teacher, but it is the ultimate secret of successful teaching of the facts.

First, the learning drills need to be broken up into short units. Not more than five or ten new facts should be presented at a time—and it must be remembered that "six and seven" is a different combination from "seven and six," and both must be separately learned. Also the combinations of "0" are as important as any other and often neglected. Combination cards, which present the combination to be learned on one side *without the answer*, and on the other side *with the correct answer* are one useful form of initial presentation and each child should have a pack of his own. Such cards can be used for individual study, and later as a game in which several children may play together. The combinations *with* the answer should be studied first—and thereafter the answer should be referred to at once if the child cannot give an immediate correct reply to either an oral or visual presentation of the combinations.

Orally, if the teacher asks "What are five and four?" and the child hesitates at all, the teacher should immediately say "Nine. Five and four are nine. Repeat after me, five and four are nine," and insist on the child repeating it. Where the visual stimulus is used, if the child hesitates, the card should be promptly reversed so that he sees the combination *with* the answer. He should then be asked to repeat the combination and the answer. This may call for a reversal of one's usual teaching procedure for it is common for a teacher when a child hesitates to give the answer to an arithmetical combination immediately, to urge him to remember by saying "Think," once or several times. This is harmful, for it drives the child to devious means to find an answer to satisfy the teacher. The most common and most undesirable procedure is to count (on the fingers or otherwise) the sum. The counting habit, once acquired is hard to break and a fatal deterrent to automatic mastery of the combinations, which is the goal of combination teaching. Another common evasion is reversion to a combination of previously known facts as: when confronted with 5 and 7 (unknown) to think 5 and 5 are 10 and 2 are 12. This slows up learning and leads to inaccuracies. If the child hesitates, the correct answer should be given him promptly to forestall evasions.

Frequent written tests of the combinations, which supposedly have been learned, are desirable. Those which are missed are the ones which should then be drilled upon and will vary for each child. There is no value to intensive review of facts already known, and it is an exceedingly discouraging activity. Furthermore the child's time and energy are needed in order to learn new things not already known. Children should not be scolded for not knowing a combination or for getting it wrong. If the teacher would devote the same amount of energy which would go into a scolding to telling the child the correct answers and reviewing such telling, the end results would be more profitable for both teacher and child. Children made nervous by fear of making a mistake, and fear of a scolding are not in a receptive mood for learning. More important, when children are scolded for mistakes or for not knowing something, they quickly learn to hide their ignorance and make it more difficult for the teacher to find out what they don't know, so that she can teach them.

If periodic tests are used, each child should keep his own progressive scores, for it is encouraging to recognize progress. However, efforts to "shame" a child whose progress is slow can be psychologically undesirable.

Progress from one group of combinations to the next group should be delayed until the child has 100% mastery of the first group and all which have gone before. This will necessitate an individualized treatment of each child, for there is no point in holding up one child who learns rapidly because of another who learns slowly. It is foolish to advance a weak child to a new series of learning problems before he has mastered the first, because it will only serve to confuse him further. Teachers often make the grave mistake of allowing a child who has difficulty with one unit of work to go on to the next to "encourage him." Actually the opposite effect occurs. The greatest encouragement any child can have is to succeed in what he has been trying to do. A little personalized help from the teacher or a sympathetic classmate will often make this possible. There is a mass of evidence among the adults all about us that the unlearned combination that has been passed over is never learned and remains a stumbling block to accurate mathematical performance throughout life. The conscientious teacher will insist upon *mastery* *learning* of the arithmetic combinations. Where weaknesses in knowledge of the combinations are detected among students in the later grades, the greatest kindness the teacher can confer on each child, is to teach him those weak combinations.

A lot of nonsense has at times been taught with regard to "short cuts" in addition. There is none worth bothering about. Any child who has automatic recall of his basic combinations can count up a column of figures as rapidly as his eye can travel, taking each number as he comes to it, and without error. To accomplish this some drill in passing from one decade to the next (20 to 30, 42 to 52 etc.) may be needed, but such rapid and accurate power with the addition of figures is possible for everyone. As addition is the process most frequently used by all, it is an important skill to master.

A child who has achieved automatic mastery of addition will usually find subtraction very easy, and master the subtraction facts rapidly. It is conceded by most students of arithmetic that the Austrian or additive method is more accurate than the borrowing method. It makes direct use of the addition facts already learned. However, most adult teachers who themselves use the borrowing method persist in teaching it to children. If it is thoroughly learned it is entirely accurate. For those to whom the additive method is unknown, the following example will serve to illustrate the process:

8542 8 and what give 2? 4. 8 and 4
-728 make 12. Put down the 4 and
7814 carry 1. 1 and 2 are 3. 3 and
what are 4? 1. Put down 1. 7 and what give a 5? 7 and 8 are 15. Put down 8 and carry 1. 1 and what are 8? 7. Put down 7. The answer is 7814. The proof follows the same pattern. To one familiar with this process of subtraction it appears as the normal method, building on what the child already knows. However, the important thing is for the teacher to teach a method with which he himself is thoroughly familiar and has confidence, for only so can he convey a feeling of confidence to the child.

Multiplication should present no difficulties, if the combinations are mastered. If the child learns that he is multiplying by 2 tens and 3 hundreds as well as 3 units, in such an example as: 7284 it should be easy
x323
to explain the placement of the partial products, the first number of which falls in the same column occupied by the multiplier. When multiplying by units, the first number of the product will fall in the units column. When multiplying by a ten, the first number of the partial product must necessarily be a ten and will appear in the tens column and so forth.

In testing for arithmetic knowledge, the important thing is to test first of all for mastery of the combinations which have been learned. It may then be in order to test for the use of addition facts in single or multiple columns; in subtraction, to test for the handling of zeros in the minuend or subtrahend, and for mastery of the extended minuend. Knowledge of the facts, however, is basic to everything else—and such a test is quickly diagnostic of weakness. When unknown facts have been learned the foundation is present for more complicated learning. While a pupil is unsure of the facts he is a poor risk for advanced learning.

16. USE OF WORKBOOKS

MUCH misunderstanding has developed throughout the Service over the use of workbooks. The question, "Do workbooks have any place in Indian Schools?" is often asked. To answer this question one must understand the purpose of workbook material. The purpose of most workbooks is to furnish drill material that the student can use, independent of the teacher. So, properly to use workbooks, one must observe the same principles that would be observed in the use of any drill material. In the earlier discussion of drill it was pointed out that though drill is necessary, it should never precede the development of concepts, and that all drill should meet the individual needs of the child. Therefore, if workbooks are used in accordance with these principles they do have a place, and deserve criticism only when they are misused.

Since drill is needed it follows then that material must be supplied which will furnish this necessary drill. Such material can be secured from many sources. It may be manufactured by the children themselves under the direction of the teachers, teachers may devise it, or it can be secured from ready made sources, which of course includes textbooks and workbooks. If, therefore, suitable material can be found in a workbook it is good sense to make use of it instead of consuming teacher time which might more profitably be spent in other directions.

Here again we must refer to the principles underlying drill. Drill must follow development of meaningful concepts. Workbook material in arithmetic, for instance, should not be given before the teacher has established the mathematical concept. To give a student drill on 8 plus 7 is not wrong in itself, but to give such drill before he has met the combination in many concrete number situations violates one of the principles of learning. A child can be drilled on word recognition until he is able to recognize words but if such drill precedes the establishment of concepts for which words are symbols, such drill is harmful. Students are not ready for drill until meaningful concepts have been established and they themselves have felt the need for the automatic skill. To place workbooks in their hands before they are ready, certainly constitutes misuse of workbook material.

Drill should meet individual needs and the students as well as the teacher should be aware of such needs. To pass out workbooks to the entire group or to begin at the beginning of a workbook and progress page by page through it, violates the principle of need; because if individual needs vary it must follow that materials should differ in types and amounts. The time of presentation may vary. For example, two students may need a certain type of drill but the first may be ready for that particular type long before the second. To give it to both when the first is ready for it, means that the second student suffers.

Workbooks like textbooks vary in their degrees of usefulness. A workbook which attempts to give diagnostic devices and achievement checks in order that individual needs may be determined, is of more value than one which assumes that all needs will be the same for all children. Much of the material in workbooks, especially in the language arts, is developed around experiences and interests entirely foreign to Indian environments which renders them practically meaningless and therefore unusable. Many of the workbooks in science and the social studies are developed for use in conjunction with a definite series of texts, their purpose being to check the acquisition of facts presented in the text which they follow. Such practice is contrary to a philosophy of education which advocates the use of facts in problem solution but condemns fact gathering as such. Therefore, all workbooks of the above types have little real value; their purchase is looked upon as a waste of money; and their use in Indian schools as a waste of pupil time and energy.

On the other hand a few workbooks can be found which supply drill material that meets the standards just outlined and when such types are found their use is advocated. Texts listed in the suggested list of books for Indian schools usually furnish sources of drill material from which teachers might draw. Of these the Knight-Ruch-Studebaker books most nearly meet the criteria which we have developed. All others examined either did not meet the standards or were too limited in use, thereby rendering them uneconomical for purchase. If teachers and workers in the field find material which does meet the standards as outlined and which has fairly general use, the purchase of such material will be considered if requests are received justifying its use.

In summary, then let it be said that workbooks in themselves are not condemned; it is the misuse of workbooks which has received criticism. An understanding and *adherence* to the principles underlying drill is basic to the proper use of workbook material. Therefore, if teachers and students are aware of the skill development which is necessary, and if material which will facilitate such development can be found in workbooks, then it is sound to draw upon that source. It does not follow that workbooks should be purchased in large lots, because if material is selected to meet individual needs, the same material will not be needed by all children in a group at the same time. Thus one workbook may serve several different children.—*Hildegard Thompson*

17. HOW MUCH HIGH SCHOOL MATHEMATICS?

FOR many years it was assumed by most educators that mathematics and foreign languages possessed unique mental training value. For years these subjects constituted a hurdle artificially imposed to limit the opportunities for higher education to students who possessed the type of mind to succeed with these particular skills. The research of Thorndyke and other educational psychologists rather effectively destroyed the fiction of transfer of training upon which all of these earlier theories of "mind training" were based. Once it became clear that learning mathematics was chiefly of value to those who wished to study more mathematics, it became easier to evaluate our mathematics programs objectively. It is no longer reasonable to argue for intensive training in mathematics for any other reason than that the student has need for mathematics. Lacking that need, such advanced instruction in mathematics is nothing more than an educational luxury to be reserved for the pupil who finds it interesting.

Analyzed in this way, there is little justification for teaching the traditional courses of algebra, geometry and trigonometry in the average Indian high school, and many of our schools have wisely eliminated such courses. For a while the colleges supported the fiction of the need for higher mathematics by requiring it as a prerequisite for admission to all courses. The more liberal and intelligent of the colleges have more recently recognized that its more basic application was to the engineering field, and students are now accepted in many college courses who have not satisfied the old requirements of three years high school mathematics. Many of our schools have substituted for the older formal mathematics, courses in mathematics based upon vocational experiences in the shops, on the farm, in the laboratory or in the home economics unit. Where these have dealt with practical experiences of this type and have extended also to buying and selling products, equipment or supplies, in which Indians are interested, they are probably doing their pupils more good than could have been obtained from the older courses.

However, with the increase of attention to industrial skills demanded by war industries, there may be justification for the introduction of intensive basic courses in mathematics in the Indian Service high schools which are training students for defense activities. In these schools it is recommended that instead of returning to the old sequence of high school mathematics courses, advantage be taken of the research conducted almost two decades ago by John Clark and Harold Rugg and reported in a monograph published at that time by the University of Chicago. The purpose of the Rugg-Clark research was to determine the mathematical elements which should be taught on the high school level because needed in science or other subject matter fields on the high school level or because a necessary prerequisite to advanced work in mathematics or science on the college level. This research demonstrated that large amounts of the traditional high school mathematics served neither of these purposes. Rugg and Clark then prepared and published a textbook which incorporates those essentials of algebra, geometry and trigonometry which are fundamental to advanced work in either mathematics or science in a *one year course*. The book is largely "self instruction" in form and can be used to individualize work, if desired. The title is "Fundamentals of High School Mathematics." It is published by the World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.

While this is not to be interpreted as an instruction to re-introduce unnecessary mathematics courses into Indian Service high schools, it is to advise that where such courses appear to have definite purpose, the book referred to constitutes one of the best bases for such a program of instruction.

18. HOW SHALL WE WRITE?

FOR the last 30 years the teaching of handwriting in American public schools has been the subject of a great deal of discussion and many changes. Up until about 12 years ago the battle raged around various forms of cursive script, as connected handwriting has been technically called. A dozen years ago, and more, the English, from whom we originally inherited our copper plate script, began experimenting with a revival of handwriting forms derived from the ancient hand-lettered manuscripts of the medieval period. The original revival was probably largely sentimental, but the results were far reaching, because the new writing proved to be pleasanter to look at and easier to read than the connected writing whose supremacy it challenged.

In the early 1920's this manuscript writing crossed the ocean and was introduced originally into the more progressive schools of this country. It was first justified on the ground that it made the earlier teaching of reading easier because the same alphabet served for both reading and writing. Later, evidence proved that its continued use made for greater legibility, and that it could be written as rapidly as script. As a result, a number of schools now teach it and require nothing else.

The speed and legibility of manuscript writing has been studied both in the United States and in England with both adults and with children. Many such tests indicate that the average rate of speed for good legible handwriting by the older cursive script is in the neighborhood of 122 letters per minute. Very rapid writers who are not concerned with legibility often achieve 145 letters per minute. Similar tests of adults using manuscript writing indicate that the average speed for normal legible manuscript also approximates 122 letters per minute. Maximum rapidity appears to fall a little short of the fastest speed possible with connected writing. Tests in a number of American schools show that the average speed of manuscript and cursive writing in various grades throughout the elementary school are almost identical. In the seventh grade approximately 65 letters per minute is a good rate of speed. In the eighth grade this increases to about 72 letters per minute. Many students will write more slowly whether they use manuscript or cursive writing. A few will write more rapidly using either form.

Manuscript writing has been criticized on the ground that it will lack character, and that all writing will look alike. Experience proves that this is not true, that manuscript writing acquires the same personal characteristics that cursive writing does. A question is sometimes raised as to the legality of signatures in manuscript. As there is no provision of law which specifies the form of an individual signature, there can be no legal objection to print-writing, if that is the form of the actual signature of the person using it. Banks throughout the United States accept manuscript signatures upon deposits and on checks without discrimination.

There was a time in this country when schools teaching manuscript writing in the lower grades assumed that it might be desirable to introduce the children to cursive script in the upper grades and high school so that their handwriting would be similar to that of adults. A majority of the schools now teaching manuscript writing make no attempt to substitute cursive script in the upper grades but assume that manuscript is a satisfactory form of adult writing. The following reproduction of manuscript signatures should dispose pretty thoroughly of any impression that these lack individuality

Christopher Barnekov
Frances Bates
Howard Berthau
Charles Brossman
George Bullock
Becky Burbidge
Joan Burian
Ann Caracristi
Janet Carr
Barbara Chambers
Bettie Corbin
Jean Crawford
Cherry Devereux
Nancy Erskine

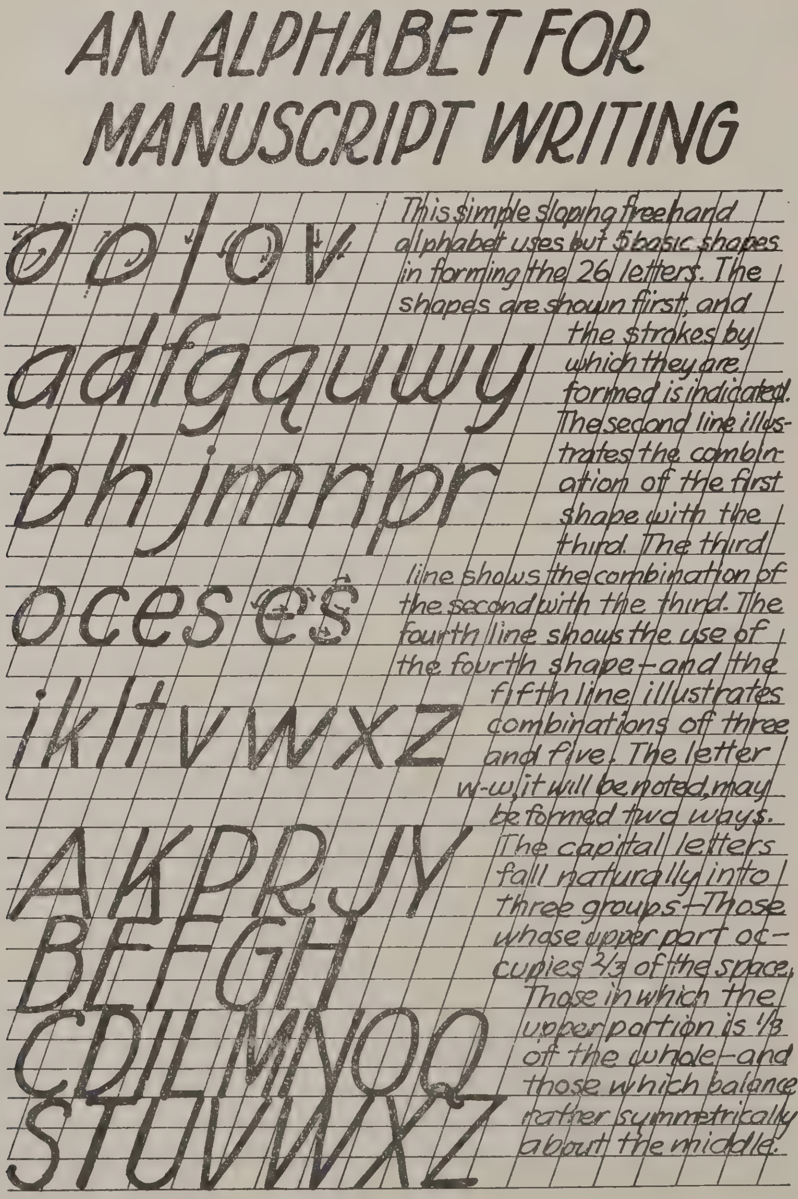
Grace Hughes
Juliette Ideler
Ann King
Angelene Kroll
Cynthia Lake
Virginia Ruth Loftus
Kristine Lougee
Betty Lynn McDonald
Patricia Murphy
Betty Neiley
Amy Redfield
Barbara Shaw
Edna Syska
Helen Zanzig

It is believed that a distinct advantage is gained by teaching manuscript writing in the lower grades and its continued use throughout school and adult life. To contribute to the reduction in the number of alphabets which a young child must learn, the Indian Life Readers and other publications of the Education Division are published in a sans serif type such as is used in this book, which corresponds closely with the letter forms used in manuscript writing.

Certainly no child who has been taught cursive writing and who writes with skill should be changed to manuscript. By the same token, children who have been taught to write a legible, rapid manuscript in the elementary grades should not be urged or required to change over to connected writing at a later date.

The following alphabet for manuscript writing presents the simplest letter forms which can be used with manuscript writing. The forward slant is natural for most people, although lefthanded writers will frequently prefer a backhand slant. Some children and some teachers prefer a vertical form of lettering. Such variations are to be encouraged as contributing to the distinctiveness which is one of the personal characteristics inherent in handwriting.

The Practical Drawing Company, P. O. Box 5388, Dallas 2, Texas, prints a blackboard alphabet in manuscript writing at 75c a set, 60c a set where 10 or more are ordered. These letters are vertical, rather than sloped, as indicated in the alphabet below, but nevertheless may be of practical help to teachers.



AN ALPHABET FOR MANUSCRIPT WRITING

This simple sloping freehand alphabet uses but 5 basic shapes in forming the 26 letters. The shapes are shown first, and the strokes by which they are formed is indicated. The second line illustrates the combination of the first shape with the third. The third line shows the combination of the second with the third. The fourth line shows the use of the fourth shape—and the fifth line illustrates combinations of three and five. The letter w-w, it will be noted, may be formed two ways. The capital letters fall naturally into three groups—Those whose upper part occupies 2/3 of the space, Those in which the upper portion is 1/3 of the whole—and those which balance rather symmetrically about the middle.

19. WRITING FOR PLEASURE

THE Indian school child lives most of his life in an English speaking world, even though at home he may speak his native language. At school he seldom chatters. Perhaps the English syllables sound harsh to him. Perhaps he is afraid of mispronouncing the unfamiliar English words. Whatever the reason, it has been found that the bilingual child seldom speaks spontaneously in school. When he is at home he slips delightedly into his native tongue and thereby satisfies his need for expression, but at school, English is the accustomed speech and his need for expression remains unsatisfied.

The thing then is to get him to talk English. Singing games, nursery rhymes, memory jingles condition him to the sound of his own voice saying the strange English words. However, these are not thought expressions. Giving him something to talk about, giving him the needed vocabulary, the desire and the need for speech are the next steps. Teaching him to read, to recognize the written word as merely the permanent recordings of the spoken word, follows this grounding.

Then comes the day when Indian thought struggles with the need for English expression. The child has his own story that he wants to tell. This is one of the most important days in the child's life. It is the wise teacher who treads softly here, who is quick to grasp and to begin to build. Now is the time to foster the desire for writing.

Writing is an outlet for thought and for emotion. The ability to write fluently frees the inhibited, encourages the timid, eases the taut and gives a delightful sense of well-being to the average person. The very fact that the Indian school child is torn between two ways of speaking, two modes of living, two economic goals and two sets of racial values tends to make him inhibited, timid and ill at ease.

Writing is the answer. A child's scribbled scrap of paper taken to the teacher's desk, frees on silver wings the magic of his thoughts.

No child sits down and writes—just like that. No miracle takes place. It is as difficult for the Indian child to acquire the abilty to make written words with pencil and chalk as it was for him to make spoken words with lips and tongue. If the teacher is not skilled, this muscular difficulty in writing will dam up for all time the flow of expression. The child should be taught writing as a muscular skill. Until it becomes easy to write he should not be forced to think of things to write about. It is enough that he think of the shape and the size and the looks of the written words.

But long before the child becomes skilled in writing, he can know how delightful and how necessary it is for Teacher to put his words on paper for him.

There are two excellent teachers of creative writing, one at Sells, one at the Phoenix School. These two women have one trait in common. They have warm friendly, sympathetic relationships with their children. In other respects, they are different. Their methods of approach are different. Their results are surprisingly alike.

The teacher of the Sells group has a roomful of seven and eight year olds. They write painfully and slowly, but they "can draw fast." So they draw bright colored pictures of school busses and flowers and houses and crosses and strange looking birds. Teacher prints their stories for them under their crayon drawn pictures. Small groups of three and four children follow her around, whispering shyly such bits as

The lady is washing
There is a pan of water there
so she will not waste her time.

The airplanes fly
and boats are on the water.

This girl is peeping out her window.
It is raining there.

The bus is going right here
and while it rains
the moon is sleeping.

Everyone in this room tells stories to illustrate his picture drawing. There is no copying and few duplications. The children seem to like the sounds of their stories in the same manner in which they enjoy the colors of their pictures.

No one seems much interested in his neighbor's efforts. Nyla patiently waits for Donald to finish so she can have her story written. The mothers are as excited over the results as the children. They have asked the teacher if they may take the picture-stories home.

The Phoenix Indian School teacher had an older group of children ranging from ten to fourteen years. They became interested in creative writing through one sentence diaries. Before the year was over, they were writing such things as

It is beautiful in the morning
to see the desert sun
rise from behind the mountains.
It comes to waken
the friendly neighbors
in the village
so they may get up
and do their work.

When I peeped through my window,
I saw the raindrops.
When I looked up,
I saw the grey clouds.
It made me happy
because I like to play
in the rain.

We live by a beautiful river.
It is wide and has trees on its sides.
We see boats in the middle of the river.
but it is more fun to be on the sides
so we can make sand houses.

The children of this room collected some of their best loved efforts into a thin little book. For some reason, they chose "As Days and Nights Pass By" for the title of their book. They illustrated it and it was mimeographed and bound. When the book was finished, one small girl said, "We did not know it would look pretty, too."

The secret of creative writing with children is simple. It is twofold. The first is to let the child pick his own subject. If the teacher tells him what to write about, she may as well tell him what to write. One small boy who was told to write about sunshine, wrote

The sunshine is shining
but it's outdoors.

The second secret of success is to take the good, praise it, save it and ignore the bad. Most teachers do the opposite. They correct the bad parts, have the children correct them and change them and work them over and recopy them until not a vestige of the original spark is left.

When a child writes

the cactus stretching reach to its flowers

it is difficult to get the exact meaning without suggestion. If the child is young and the play habit has been established, the teacher may be able to interpret the child's meaning through his pantomime. For example, such leads as, "Play that you are the cactus. Now show me what it is doing," may be used. Be careful of your wording. Even the word tall, if used in "'Play that you are a tall cactus" may be suggestion on your part because the child's picture may not be a tall cactus.

After the child has acted out his word picture so that you are certain of his meaning, some attention may be given to English wording, although if the work is of the moment and not to be recorded, it could be left as it is. If the correction is given, a good way is to make it on the typewriter with the child looking on. Read as you type.

The cactus is stretching

then the question "why is it stretching?" may be asked and the answer in this case was "reaching to its flowers, I think." The typed lines are

The cactus is stretching,
reaching to its flowers,
I think.

No comment at this time is necessary for capitalization, indentation or punctuation. These should be first presented with the same casualness as the correct spelling of the words used.

Perhaps in a whole page of incorrect, badly jumbled writing there is one small line of beauty. Pounce upon it. Lift it bodily from the scribbled page. Read it aloud. Type it to show the child how nice it looks. Pin it on the wall. It is beautiful and therefore valuable. Treat it accordingly.

When the time is right for the next step, say something like this. "This is good, but it is not enough. What happened then?" Teach the child to evaluate his own work. It is easy to get to know when a thing is finished. Teach him to make word pictures long, long before he knows it is necessary to have complete sentences, as for example in

Thelma is my sister Aaren is my
my brother my grandmother likes
to cook for me my dog is black

The child was asked to tell the "best part" when it was read to him. The child said he liked best "my grandmother likes to cook for me." This was good, because it had value for its writer. The page containing it was put on the wall with a wide red line encircling the *good part*. It was read and favorably commented upon. The next day during a free period the teacher told the child to bring it to her so she could type it for him. She typed it directly from the written page

My grandmother likes to cook for me.

She read it aloud, said, "I like it. It is a good sentence, but it is not enough. What else have you to say. It needs something else to finish it." The result was

I know because she smiles when she
cooks

The next step was the teaching of form. "Do you want it read this way—or this way? Do you want it written in one long line this way or do you want to break it as we say it —this way." The result was this, as chosen by the child.

My grandmother
likes to cook
for me.

I know because
she smiles
when she cooks.

The teacher's choice would have been

I know
because she smiles

but the child's preference was more important than exact form.

Much valuable and delightful time can be spent in teaching pattern. "If you have three lines in the first part, do you want the second part to have three lines or do you want two or four." The teacher types the lines in various ways to demonstrate balance for pattern. She reads as she types, putting emphasis on the line breakage to demonstrate rhythm for meaning. If after a few such demonstrations the child is unable to make his own patterns, it means he is not ready for creative work.

The simple way to teach rhythm is by finger tapping. "Let's play tapping instead of talking. I see a man walking, tap it for me. I see a man riding, tap it. Now tell me with words." Illustrate rhythms with words and tapping as

I see a man walking
slow with big steps

I see a man riding
riding, riding

I see a man riding
on a white horse

However, here a word of warning must be given. Do not force upon the Indian child our nursery jingle rhyming. It is senseless for an Indian to write

We use water
We use soap
They will make us clean
We hope.

Everything about such writing is unnatural, stilted and ugly.

Read literal translations of Indian songs of the tribes with whom you are working. If these songs have not been collected, have old men come to school and translate them with the children. Listen to the tribal music. Become a close observer of the tribal rhythmic dance steps· Be careful, careful not to let your influence be a jarring note, a discord in the natural Indian harmony.

Use Mary Austin's "American Rhythm" and Ruth Underhill's "Singing for Power" as your textbooks. Study intensively "The New Trail," Phoenix Indian School Yearbook, 1941, to become aware of the distinct tribal patterns and rhythms of Indian children's writings.

It may be that you can not get children to write. It may be that no seventeen year old boy ever will write for you

"High from a windy hill
I see the swaying trees.
High, where I stood still
on that windy day."

It is very probable that only a few have the magic key that unlocks the magic door leading to the storeroom where Indian children keep their thoughts. If you try and you can't and you try again and they won't, give up creative writing.

There is plenty of writing to be done, good strong writing with its feet on the ground and its verbs in its pocket. Stick to that. Teach children to write short, snappy sentences and end when they are done.

But do not call this *Writing for Pleasure*. Call it *Writing for Business* and do not sign Johnnie's name to it if all that he has done is copy your corrections.

Note—All illustrations used are taken from original Indian children's writings.

—*Clark*

20. WRITING FOR BUSINESS

A CHILD of fourth year school level is not too young to begin sentence writing. This is not a *Writing For Pleasure* class where the effort is purely creative and spontaneous. This is a *Writing For Business* class where stress is placed upon spelling, grammatical construction and punctuation.

Writing For Pleasure is fun. *Writing For Business* is work. There is as much difference between these two as there is between the learning of new words in the reading textbook lesson and the reading of story books for recreation in the library corner.

Reading for Business can be, and should be, a cheerful occupation and so can Writing for Business be cheerful, but even the very young child realizes that these are teacher-controlled lessons to be done according to rather rigid rules.

Sentence writing can not be profitably started before the child has acquired a rich speaking vocabulary, a good reading vocabulary, a free penmanship control and the rudiments of spelling.

Even with these assets the task of teaching sentence construction is a long, slow, painstaking process. English grammar is difficult for the bilingual child. It is full of exceptions and contradictions. It is small wonder that an occasional teacher feels beaten before she starts.

However, the majority doggedly persist, jogging along day after day and achieving a moderate degree of success. Here and there is found the gifted teacher who has a green finger when it comes to growing grammar. One such person, when asked to tell the secret of her technique in making correct and purposeful writers of her pupils, jotted down these "ten commandments."

(1) Never teach too fast. Remember what a strange art it is to speak with marks on paper. Be content with small gains. A good three or four sentence "theme" is a wonderful accomplishment for most school children.

(2) Do not present too long and too difficult a daily lesson. Remember all the tasks involved in composing and writing one short sentence—the putting the thought into English words, the placing of these words according to English usage, the spelling of each new word and, finally, the actual muscular control needed to put the sentence down on paper.

(3) Never allow a child to write unsupervised for long periods of time. It is a short-cut in the learning process of writing to take time at the initial step before errors are allowed to be committed rather than to take time later on to break down bad writing habits.

(4) Divide classes into small similar-ability-level groups and work *with* them. In this way the teacher can more easily detect individual weaknesses.

(5) Do not stress errors. If possible, correct them in the process of being made. Emphasize the good points. Try to guide the child into doing it the right way naturally, not laboriously.

(6) Never allow the child to write a sentence without recognizing its purpose and the purpose of every crucial word it contains. Make him realize that sentences are word pictures.

(7) Writing grammatically should be a skill. Practice helps toward this end, but also teaching the child accepted English phrase usages is necessary. The thought of a sentence may be inspirational, but its construction should become a habit skill.

(8) Let rules of grammar fly out the window. They should not be memorized. Perhaps in high school they can be wisely used as tools of analysis, but no young child ever is going to stop before each sentence to search his mind for a rule to apply.

(9) Constantly, consciously have the child hear, say, read and write correct speech in order that it may become a part of him. Train his eye and his ear to be his detector of perfect, pleasing phrasing.

(10) The "composition period" must be vital. Do not allow the child to get the

idea that this kind of lesson is mere "busy work" to keep him quiet while teacher does more important things.

If one of these "commandments" stands out in importance it is, probably, this last one, for no teaching has a chance of survival if its presentation is drab and dull and drags endlessly without life and without hope. It must be dressed-up and pepped-up. It literally must be sold to its youthful, reluctant public.

There are as many ways of "selling" an educational product as there are personality differences among the pedagogical salesmen. One teacher whose fourth year level group is building a Trading Post suggested to her "tool-care" committee that they keep a notebook about their tools. It has such entries as

Monday—John and Stanley straightened three bent nails.

Tuesday—Today is Bessie's turn to put the saw away.

This same teacher's Bird Study group has the slogan "A line a day about a bird a day". Notice the importance. One line, no more! The children find that it takes thinking and planning to get in important facts in a page-width line. It is surprising what limiting a piece of writing will do for the writer. Instead of saying, "It *must* be this long" teacher says, "It *can* be but this long." At once even lazybones is slightly stung by the challenge. All the words in this kind of writing must be worker-words. Drones are not wanted! In a technique of this kind, the poor teacher might be faced with expression starvation, but the good teacher will have everyone on his toes, on his writing toes!

There are all sorts of ways of putting life into the *Writing for Business* lesson: diaries and progress records, directions for doing, descriptions, explanations, narrative reports on activities. Once writing skill is established and writing habit is formed, incentive will take care of itself.

There is no set rule for composition complexity throughout the grades. It depends on the child, on previous training, on wise choice of material.

Teachers should foster the ability of child self-correction and self-evaluation. Reading aloud or having his work read to him aids in this. Group discussion of individual work is good, if it can be handled with wisdom, justice, kindliness and humor and if emphasis is put on the good points of the writing under discussion rather than upon its weaknesses. It should be remembered that criticism for errors has a tendency to overemphasize bad points. It is better procedure to put emphasis upon worthwhile bits. Sometimes more is lost than gained by group discussion. It depends a little on the sensitiveness of the child and his place in the school world among his own age-group. It depends more, however, on the personality of the teacher. It is possible to instill into every classroom an impersonal laboratory atmosphere where good-humored trial and error is the popular approach.

As soon as the fundamentals of sentence construction are mastered, attention is given to style. Style is usually determined by the writer's vocabulary and whether he does his thinking in English. Style can be influenced by training and practice.

As soon as the child is able to write half a dozen sentences developing one topic, it is feasible to begin training in skeleton outlines. The outline outlook is one of the best for mental discipline. It answers the questions, "What do I know about this subject? Do I know enough to write about it? Why am I writing about this thing? What is my purpose? What is the end I have in mind? Am I listing the steps leading to this end in the right order?"

Never allow a child to begin writing without having decided upon a conclusion. It is like knowing where you are going before you start, a good thing for any traveler.

When each member of a writing class can write legibly and spell correctly a simple, snappy sentence, concise and to the point, when he can group his sentences into natural paragraphs and make his paragraphs as steady as forward marching footsteps from the beginning to the end of his outline, then you can begin word study. You can teach him to use plain Anglo-Saxon words for pithy fare and foreign words for flavor. You can teach him word psychology and word placement and the delicacy with which they can be handled, but until such time be content with direct and simple four and five word sentences in three and four line themes.—*Clark*

21. ORGANIZING COOPERATIVES

IN AMERICA today millions of people belong to one kind of cooperative or another. In some sections of the Indian country interest in the cooperative way seems to be growing. One Indian group is thinking of buying its groceries and farm supplies cooperatively; another is planning to market its strawberries on the same basis. At least one agency has experimented with a cooperative for marketing Indian arts and crafts products, while at another agency a group of Indians bought and used heavy farm machinery on a cooperative plan. School youth are joining in cooperative ventures as an integral part of their educational experiences. This is only a random selection of cooperative activities among Indians.

Is it really doing anybody any good? Can cooperatives succeed? If the answer is yes, then why have so many of them failed in the past? What can a group do to make sure its co-op won't be one of the failures? What is a cooperative, anyway?

Let's try to answer that last question first. When a group of people come together to supply themselves with goods or services they need, they are starting a cooperative. If they plan to sell themselves groceries, feed, seed, twine, etc., they are building a consumer's cooperative. They are all *consumers* of these commodities, and it is their common economic interest as consumers that brings them together and helps them agree on a joint program.

When a group of people pool their eggs, or their wheat, or their cattle, so they can sell in carload lots, or at least in larger quantities than they could individually, they are operating as a marketing cooperative. Their common economic interest is in finding the best market for what they have to sell. In working out the details for their co-op they set up plans they hope will be best for all of them.

This is only the barest statement of the case. Successful operation of a cooperative which is to be truly a cooperative demands strict adherence to a group of principles the foundations for which were laid a hundred years ago by the Rochdale pioneers. On Toad Lane in the town of Rochdale, England, twenty-eight people of various trades opened a small store, selling flour, oatmeal, sugar, butter and candles. Capital for the store was $140, and it took the group a whole year to raise the money. Each person had saved five dollars, by laying aside a few pennies each week. It was no easy job, because many of them were unemployed and all of them were poor, but they were sure they were building for the future, and many put into their little fund money they might have used for food.

At the very first, their store didn't go so well. Street-rowdies jeered the amateur grocers. Because their shelves contained so little merchandise, the pioneers had to keep up appearances by coming out the front door of their store loaded down with parcels, and then going in unobserved through the back door to return the goods and fill up the shelves again.

But they didn't have to do that for long. Their membership grew, their store grew, and their *idea* spread all over England and into the far reaches of the world. These are the main points of their idea:

First, they said, let us admit to membership in our cooperative anybody whose needs are the same as ours and who feels that he wants to join with us in serving those needs.

Second, let every member purchase at least one share of stock in the cooperative. But regardless of the number of shares he owns, every member is to have just *one* vote at meetings. We are interested in our members more than in their money.

Third, if we make any profits, let us return them to our members in proportion to the amount of business each has done with us. This is no more than right, for it puts back into each member's pocket exactly the profit his patronage at the co-op has created. Before we declare any profits, however, we have certain obligations to meet. Of course we must pay all our expenses, and we should pay interest (a low rate, never more than the prevailing rate in the community) on the stock our members have purchased. We should lay aside perhaps 10% of our savings for reserve or for later expansion, and perhaps 10% more for an education fund, to use in making the work of our co-op known among more people. The rest of our savings we can return as a patronage dividend. But it is in every case up to *us*, as members and owners of this cooperative, to decide exactly how we shall dispose of our savings.

Fourth, we should always do business strictly for cash. We'll save bookkeeping expense, we'll prevent losses due to bad debts, we'll put our money to maximum use, and we'll all stay friends. Finally, let us do our business at prevailing market prices, not by underselling.

These points represent at least the foundations of good business practice for any cooperative today. But groups of people don't read a lot of good advice once and then act upon it, presto! Education doesn't work quite that way. The Rochdale pioneers realized that, and held many meetings to discuss their plans before they actually organized.

Best success insurance for a cooperative is an informed membership. Regular meetings in small groups, held over a period of several months, provide a sound technique for informing a prospective co-op membership. These meetings, or study-groups, discuss one by one the various phases of cooperation, the things in the background, the principles, and the special skills needed for any particular kind of cooperative business. In cooperatives people help one another. In talking things over, many heads together are better than one alone. One head can talk only to itself.

This brings us to a very fundamental question. Should Indians be especially interested in cooperatives? To answer this we must remember that cooperatives furnish a technique for increasing real income. They can get for the producer a larger share of the city consumer's food and clothing dollar. For consumers in town or on the farm, cooperatives can make dollars buy *more* food and clothing. Applying the idea specifically to an Indian community, what do we find? Anyone at all familiar with Indian country knows of scores of places where Indians are farming, growing fruit, raising livestock, shearing wool, cutting timber, producing arts and crafts articles, but are still only partially alive to the potentialities of their work when they pull together all along the line. Pretty nearly anyone who belongs to a marketing cooperative can tell you about the higher prices which he gets for his product now that he combines it with that of his neighbors for sales in larger quantities.

In some communities groups use a cooperative plan to purchase heavy farm machinery for their joint use. Townspeople and rural people alike, in their capacity as consumers are learning that they stand to improve their economic health by cooperating in the purchase of many needed goods and supplies. Higher quality—assured by grading and testing, plus lowered cost—achieved by group buying, make any member's income go farther.

Working together for the good of all is one of the oldest of Indian traditions. Cooperation today attempts to adapt this tradition to modern needs so that it will make a definite contribution to everyone's comfort, well-being, and security.

The townspeople of Rochdale were poor; many of them were unemployed. By and large, Indians are in much the same situation. Cooperation benefitted Rochdale, and millions of Americans today are following the Rochdale example for improved living. Indian schools should acquaint both youth and adults with the possibilities for their economic betterment inherent in the cooperative way.

Here are a few leaflets and bulletins that may serve as study material for Indian co-op adult study-groups and as subject matter for use by teachers in the elementary grades or by students of junior or senior high school age.—*Huberman*

Things to Read

Item	*Where to Write*
"Cooperation"—Lessons I, II, III, IV.	Management Division, Farm Security Administration, Washington, D. C. Free.
"Up from the Shadows"—Michel Becker. A short story about the Rochdale pioneers.	Northern States Cooperative League, Minneapolis, Minn. 10 cents.
"Cooperative Purchasing of Farm Supplies"—J. G. Knapp and J. H. Lister. Not easy reading, but full of information.	Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C. Free.
"Cooperative Marketing of Agricultural Products"—W. W. Fetrow. A factual report.	Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C. Free.
"What Should Farmers Aim to Accomplish Through Organization?" An easy-to-read pamphlet.	U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Free.
"Indians at Work"—April 1, 1937. An issue devoted to cooperatives.	Office of Indian Affairs, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois, Free.
"Fundamentals of Consumer Cooperation"—V. S. Alanne. Good, practical information.	Northern States Cooperative League, Minneapolis, Minn. 25 cents.

"Organization and Management of Consumers' Cooperative Associations and Clubs."—Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 598. **One of the best** guides now available.	U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C. Free.
"Consumers' Guide"—A magazine published every two weeks, often containing articles on cooperatives.	Consumers' Counsel, AAA, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Subscription Free.
"Consumers' Market Service"—A bulletin that tells whether prices of certain foods are going up or down.	Consumers' Counsel, AAA, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Free.
"News for Farmer Cooperatives"—A monthly manazine interest to farm cooperators.	Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C. Subscription Free.
"Cooperatives for Indians"—18 4-page lesson leaflets telling how to organize a successful cooperative. Edward Huberman.	Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas. 30 cents a set.

22. COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

"THEY can't succeed. Cooperatives always finish up by becoming soft berths for the manager, the only one to gain anything, after all is said and done." That's what somebody blurted out at a recent seminar on cooperatives. The gentleman knew of two or three co-ops that had failed because the manager became the dictator and ran things to suit himself.

There is an old saying from the French which, rendered into English, becomes "All generalizations are false, including this one." The present case is of course no exception. Some co-ops have failed because of faulty management, some for other reasons. But many have succeeded, bringing to the community numerous benefits that might otherwise have been entirely missed. The Jicarilla Apache store at Dulce, New Mexico, is an example of a well managed cooperative Indian business concern.

Experience of the last few years has shown that no cooperative need fail if it follows certain tested practices and proceeds according to Rochdale principles.

Let us look first at the co-op which turned into a sinecure for the manager and a benefit for nobody else. An all-powerful manager indicates a sleepy membership, and no co-op can possibly be more wide-wake than its members. For some reason or other, the members in this co-op must have lost interest in guiding their own business, and every new disinterested member led to more concentration of power in the hands of the manager, who finally ran things only to his advantage.

Had this co-op been built with an informed membership, all this could not have happened. *It never does* in a cooperative where the members know what cooperation means. And how are they going to find out? Through study-groups, *before the co-op is organized.* Many years of cumulative cooperative experience here and abroad offer their authority for these statements.

Too many cooperatives have succeeded and are succeeding in America today for us not to know that as a form of business organization they work. And the advantages they bring along with them are worth the time and trouble it takes to get going in the right way.

Through his cooperative, an Indian farmer can get higher prices for the things he has to sell, and any Indian consumer-member can buy more food or supplies for the farm, or clothing, for the money he is able to spend. In cooperatives people work together for their mutual benefit.

Here are some suggestions for educational programs centered around problems of cooperative thinking and action. Education of children in school and of adults in the community both need to be considered. People don't develop an enthusiastic interest in something about which they know nothing.

Youngsters in numerous schools—even in the lower grades—have been encouraged to set up student cooperatives. In cases where children themselves have had an important share in working out the agreements by which the venture is to operate, successes have been most marked. Groups of children banded together have raised chickens and sold the eggs and sold the fowl—dressed or live; raised rabbits, hogs and other livestock for sale; made popcorn and candy to be sold at school functions. The profits are sometimes divided among the members of the group, and sometimes used to purchase desired equipment for school or classroom. Even young chidren easily understand the pleasurable results of working together to earn money, and realize that no one of them could have done so much alone. Habits are being established which can carry over into similar situations in adult life. And of course children will tell older people at home about what they have done, thus planting the seeds of community interest in cooperative endeavor.

In several schools, junior and senior high school students have formed junior cattle associations modeled on successful cooperative practices and with articles of association and by-laws of adult associations. School experiences of this kind, in the Sioux country, have frequently led the student to join an existing adult cattle association upon leaving school, and sometimes even to the creation of such an association in the community because of the knowledge and active interest of the returned student. Teachers have seen to it that young people have had not only actual experience in raising and marketing but also a real understanding of the fundamental principles underlying successful consumer and producer cooperatives.

The inception of a cooperative ought to follow some kind of a preliminary school or community survey which has shown the need or desirability of cooperative economic action. Then the meaning and purpose of cooperation need to be clear in the minds of the prospective members.

Build from the bottom up, not from the top down. If organization is foisted by a high-pressure enthusiast on a group of people who are simply railroaded into joining, the organization must of necessity sink into insignificance and uselessness, for it has no solid base, no mass support on which to build. It is all right enough for the enthusiast to *educate* his listeners, but he must do it at their own rate of speed. Through study-groups any community can begin its own cooperatives on a sound basis. "Building from bottom up" means starting the co-op with a group of informed people whose understanding of cooperation will keep them from surrendering their interest in and control of their own business.

Chances of co-op success are perhaps in direct proportion to the level and extent of cooperative adult education among the members before the co-op is started. Granted the economic base and need for a cooperative, an educational program is the first item on the order of business. Planned, progressive discussion meetings held at stated times over a period of time are essential. The people of Lyons Switch community in the Cookson Hills of northeastern Oklahoma had joined together to build a community building. They were assisted by members of the Sequoyah School staff. This experience led easily into an initial interest on the part of some of the people in the idea of cooperative raising and marketing of strawberries. Despite the initial interest, dozens of meetings were necessary before the cooperative became a reality. Members of the Sequoyah staff and the Indian Office staff were present at many of the discussions. This slow, deliberative process largely accounts for the success of the Lyons Switch strawberry cooperative, and for its later expansion to include other small fruits and berries. It had thus a fair chance to prove its genuine community usefulness.

So long as a cooperative continues to operate on the principle of "one member, one vote," it is building safely. Meetings should be held frequently, with regular accounting to the members by those delegated to run the co-op. In the early stages, the group may have to depend on volunteer help. Some of our largest and most successful co-ops were founded on hours and hours of time freely given by various members for the good of all. But after a reasonable period, or as soon as the co-op can afford it, the volunteer help should be replaced by paid labor, paid a decent wage.

This is where that "manager problem" comes in. For safe and efficient operation, the co-op manager should be granted plenty of leeway in operating the business, but he should make frequent regular reports to the board of directors, elected by and in turn responsible to the entire co-op membership. With this kind of set up no manager can become an arbitrary boss. The Arapahoe cannery at Wind River is a case in point.

A true cooperative is a highly democratic organization demanding full membership-participation in its activities, and flourishing only with an understanding membership.

All these points about succesful co-op practice must be thoroughly mulled over and straightened out in study-group meetings:

1. It is important to keep tabs on the hired manager and other employees of the co-op. Be sure your manager is familiar with the kind of business you are doing, and not merely someone who is a friend or relative of one of your members. As a general rule, it is best to pay your help a flat salary, without bonus or commission.
2. Do business on a strictly cash basis. *Use* co-op funds, instead of tying them up in neat little bundles of credit.
3. Keep careful records, with regular check-ups by the co-op auditing committee, and a periodic inspection by an auditor from the outside.
4. If your cooperative sells things like groceries, farm supplies, arts and crafts products etc., *don't undersell the market*. Your prices should be the same as those generally prevailing in your community. Then no one can complain that you are competing unfairly. And you will also be more likely, after a time, to have some savings that you can return to your members according to the amount of business each has done with the co-op.
5. After you have started your co-op, plan to keep up with your educational program. Continue holding study-

group meetings, thresh out co-op problems as they arise, invite speakers, build up your library of co-op books and pamphlets, spread co-op news to your whole community.

Details on ways and means of holding adult study-group meetings are simple enough. For a meeting place, anybody's home will do, or a community house, or a room in the community school, or under the trees in mild weather. The dayschool teacher may need to assist at first; later members of the group may take turns playing "teacher" or discussion leader. But each leader ought to read a little ahead in some of the leaflets or bulletins before his meeting so that he has something definite to contribute. At every session there should be real roundtable discussion, with all sharp points smoothed down if possible.

There ought to be literature bearing on the co-op needs of the community on hand at each meeting, and group-members should go home each time with a new pamphlet or booklet to digest during the week. If the adults can not read English, one of the school children can help make the meaning clear, or the material can be translated into the native language of those tribes whose language has a written form. In this way, both children and adults are learning at the same time. You may have as many as three or four members in a study-group, or as many as ten or fifteen. When membership grows beyond fifteen, it is sometimes wise to divide the group in two. Where there are a number of different study-groups in a community there should always be a final series of mass meetings, including all groups, before the co-op is actually started. This will serve to harmonize the ideas of the members in the various groups. It is well to bear in mind that Indian groups have for generations been in the habit of making up their minds slowly and only after all concerned have had ample opportunity to meet together, to listen, to discuss, to think and then to decide. That in itself is an excellent example of the cooperative way.—*Huberman*

23. MAPS: A KEY TO UNDERSTANDING

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, the average schoolroom map was a Joseph's coat of contrasting colors, setting forth the supposedly immutable outline of the political subdivisions of the world. In 1914, that world fell apart and political maps became as obsolete as the dinosaur, except on the walls of a few classrooms which have not yet caught up with the tempo of world history.

The cataclysm of World War 1 merely hastened the acceptance of a new emphasis in map printing which was already making headway. This new trend was emphasizing the geographic features in terms of plains and highlands, river valleys and mountain ranges. After all, these are the relatively permanent facts of geography which influence the use which is made of the earth's surface, determine its population centers, guide its transportation routes, and dictate the subsistence activities of its people. A political map today is not only an anachronism, it is an extravagance. The second World War has totally destroyed the value of every existing political map of Europe. When the war is over, the valleys of the Seine, the Rhone and the Rhine, of the Bug, the Vistula and the Volga will still be in place, exerting their continuing influence upon the agriculture, the industry and the trade of the nations which they drain and water, regardless of their political boundaries.

Relative elevations are distinguished upon most physical maps by the same basic colors, and familiarity with the code enables one, with the glance of an eye, to absorb certain basic information about the surface of the land from any map reproduced in this code.

Maps differ in the kind, amount and quality of information printed on their surfaces, and, with this fact in mind, need to be chosen with a view to the information which pupils and teachers may legitimately seek from their inspection. Because wall maps of the two hemispheres are either grossly exaggerated or badly distorted, they are really of relatively little use. The global concept may be much more effectively taught from the globe itself, and almost every classroom above the first or second grade should possess its own globe. Therefore, wall maps should usually be limited to continental areas or lesser units.

However, when one begins cutting up the world into many pieces, accurate comparison between the pieces becomes a little difficult unless great care is used. Many map makers completely ignore this vital matter of size relationship between the continental areas and lesser subdivisions of the continent. In many instances, the size of the paper or of the lithographic plate from which a map is printed appears to exert a greater influence upon the scale with which the map is represented than the more important factor of intelligible comparison. North and South America and Africa may and should all be shown on the same scale. The United States, because we are likely to give it more intensive study, may usually be chosen in a considerably larger scale, but the map on which we find the United States alone should be drawn at a scale which is an easy multiple of the map of North America. Europe, because of its lesser size, may be shown at the same scale as the United States. So may Australia. Asia, because of its greater size will inevitably have to be shown at a considerably smaller scale if maps of about the same size are being purchased. But again, this smaller scale should be an easy multiple of the scale at which Europe or Africa are shown.

Where such relationships exist between a series of maps, comparative studies become possible and geography becomes much more intelligible.

What has been said about physical features on maps applies with equal force to globes. One might even say with greater force, because the matter of expense tends to limit the maximum size of globes to about a 16 inch diameter, which means that a globe can be depended upon at best for merely gross impressions of topographical variations, relative size of continents, distances travelled by trade routes, and the vast mass of interesting data with regard to our place in the solar system which may be effectively taught by means of a globe.

Classrooms in Indian schools have been woefully deficient in maps and globes. Such maps as will be found often appear to date back to a prehistoric era. To stimulate greater use of maps and globes, and to aid in their more intelligent selection, a study has been given to the material now available on the market and a section in the booklist (and annual estimate catalog) is now given over to a listing and annotated description of maps, globes and charts recommended for use in Indian schools. This is done with the hope that it will stimulate a concerted effort upon the part of school principals and teachers to repair existing deficiencies in such equipment.

Because of the characteristics of maps and globes, stated above, they will be listed hereafter in the same manner that books are listed. However, where our examination indicates that equally satisfactory maps or globes are published by more than one concern, both are listed, and, in purchasing, both firms will be invited to bid except in cases where maps which are being ordered in any year are to supplement maps already in use by the schools, in which case the series and publisher should be specified to maintain the uniformity of the series.

24. STAGE INDIANS

NOTHING excites our laughter so much as grotesque and ludicrous portrayals of the completely mistaken interpretations of things which are "everyday common knowledge" to ourselves. The popular college story movies of a few years ago, with scenes of football captains, driving off to practice with a bevy of pretty girls in a smart roadster, or pictures of Long Island or Continental society living in a perpetual state of alcoholism and debauchery, only added an unintended humor for the average audience. Every spring two or three sports writers tickle their readers by describing an Englishman's comments on his first baseball game. This lack of comprehension of a thing so familiar and logical to us, seems to reach a degree of impossible stupidity. We laugh too, at acts of Orientials, like the police captain who ordered the arrest of a gentle, matronly American tourist as a sinister fifth columnist, because her letters of introduction stated she was a functionary of the Daughters of the American *Revolution.*

We laugh and we are scornful of such ignorance. Sometimes it offends us and we inwardly writhe.

Anyone acquainted with Indians and reservations must have been fully enraged or have left the theatre in a fit of laughter at a recent "Western" that took place on a reservation. The Indian trader appeared to be a college graduate decked out in Western regalia, the assistant superintendent was in league with rustlers, and both he and the superintendent always traveled with rifles and six-shooters. The reservation Indians paraded through an ethnological nightmare in which, dressed in full war regalia they galloped across the western plains into a canyon filled with obvious California oaks where they jumped miraculously into birchbark canoes, which have never been known to any but Woodland Indians, to paddle downstream. They were fired upon by the rustlers, among whom were more Indians—whom one might term cultural hybrids with their pueblo hair bobs and head bands, velveteen Navaho shirts, and fringed buckskin leggings.

Such absurdities may be condoned in Hollywood, but not in Indian schools. We like to think of mistakes based on ignorance of Indian life, as things of the past. They have become so, to a great extent in recent years through summer school teaching, new literature, and the sincere desire of teachers to understand Indian life and history. Yet there frequently appears in classroom discussions, class projects, and school pageants evidence of ignorance that must be painful to Indian pupils. Perhaps some of this arises from the very word "Indian" itself, which refers to a great number of people who vary widely in custom and habit. This has led to a rather synthetic type in our minds, which has become a habit in our thinking. This Indian is a tall, beady-eyed figure with a beak nose, dressed in featherbonnet, buckskin jacket, leggings and beaded moccasins, and carrying a tomahawk. He lives in a tepee, rides a horse, and calls his baby "papoose" and his wife, "squaw." This Indian has become a symbol, a stage Indian, like the stage Irishman with sandy hair, a clay pipe stuck in a broad mouth and dressed in battered topper and green cutaway coat. The English dude in evening dress, with monocle and cane is another of these stage types that never really existed.

When we start an Indian project, pageant or history study, we are apt to follow an old thinking habit and draw upon some of the elements of our stage Indian. Miniature tepees and travois have been seen in classrooms projects about "our ancestors," where the ancestors of the children never knew of such things. Higher grade children talk about static Indian ways of warfare, as if change and fighting had only been brought in with the coming of the White man. These concepts have come from teachers or books. In this, White-trained Indian teachers sometimes sin as grievously in giving out misinformation as their White colleagues.

This evil of a "smattering of ignorance" about Indians has been dramatized in Indian school pageants perhaps more often than in any other activity. Recent pageants have shown the chief of the tribe in the unmasculine act of calling a midwife to his tepee; of sending a man out on a vision quest for an omen that was later to be announced publicly. This custom was commonly practiced by an adolescent boy to gain a guardian spirit for his life's journey and was kept a secret to himself or shared with an initiated few.

Indian children and Indian parents, who know their own tribal customs and have a taste for the rightness and appropriateness of things Indian, must laugh at and scorn in their quiet way, the absurdities and gaucheries that are presented to them, as we laugh at interpretations by the foolish foreigner. Frequently criticism is voiced by a child who is made to do things he knows are wrong or things for which no appeal has been made to his interest. Outside the classroom door is heard, "That is the White man's Indian," We cannot succeed in establishing racial and cultural pride by presenting the stage Indian to Indian children. We must be extremely critical of the material presented to our Indian students, and send it to be verified by people who do know, if we are not sure.—*Macgregor*

25. VOCATIONAL FATIGUE

EVERY job a man can undertake requires the coordination of a particular set of muscles, and produces its own particular "vocational fatigue." Amateurs who work at the job occasionally for short periods, frequently discover this point of fatigue, but stop working before they get their "second wind." On the other hand the professional has passed beyond the period of vocational fatigue, his muscles are accustomed to the continuous exertion and sustained effort does not result in physical discomfort.

One characteristic of much vocational training in schools is the short daily periods devoted to work, and often the tendency to rotate experience through a variety of "exploratory" courses for six to eight weeks each. Such short periods retain the student continously in "amateur status," constantly aware of the specific "vocational fatigues" of the different types of work, but never working long enough at any one thing to get his "second wind," and feel the satisfaction that comes from intellectual and muscular mastery of a skill.

As a result the children are impressed with the unpleasantness associated with each skill, and never having gotten beyond that point, lack vocational satisfactions and tend to remain putterers. Under the same limitations, few people would learn the joys of horse back riding or acquire the satisfactions gained by many pipe smokers,—for each of these skills has its introductory period of fatigue or bodily non-adjustment.

This period of vocational fatigue is significant in another way. It marks the time during which the workman's performance is still crude rather than skillful. In other words, it is the time during which the student is aware of his own shortcomings and before he has experienced the thrill of achievement.

There is only one remedy: to extend the practice periods until the vocational fatigue is overcome and skill begins to replace crudity. This isn't so much a matter of age as of experience. The complaint so often made that vocational students in high school are too young to master their trades, can be interpreted in a majority of cases to mean that the experience of the student is still so limited that he quickly succumbs to vocational fatigue. The student gets tired easily and shirks his job. If he is older, he won't get tired of that particular job quite so quickly, but until he has overcome the fatigue period, he will still tend to shirk.

The younger student, on the other hand, who has passed the period of vocational fatigue may often demonstrate unexpected skill or mastery. It pays to lengthen the learning time, and keep the student at the job until his muscles become adjusted and his skill can be accurately judged, before either he or his teachers undertake to decide his fitness or lack of fitness for any type of work.

During the war emergency with emphasis on skills leading to a paying job, longer periods of concentration were provided. Students overcame the fatigue period, and their skills improved accordingly. Let us remember that fact when we return to peacetime teaching.

26. BOOKS FOR AND ABOUT INDIANS

MOST Indians live in rural areas. Indians, as in Oklahoma, live near small White towns or cities, and frequently visit them. Other Indians, like the Navaho or the Papago live in isolated areas where they almost never see Whites and know little or nothing of the common experiences of urban White life. This presents a challenge to the teacher in Indian schools, to select reading material which is meaningful to children who are thus outside the currents of some important phases of American life. It is well to remember that in the early years of reading, children use books and charts to gain a technique. In these years any new *information* which may be gained as a by-product of learning to translate symbols into meanings, is purely incidental and gratuitous. As has been pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, first experience with reading may well take place through the medium of experience charts built around daily occurrences within the classroom, on the playground, or at home.

Many well-planned and beautifully illustrated pre-primers and primers which delight the eye of the modern teacher will unfortunately be found of relatively little help in teaching youngsters in these remote areas how to read, for while they deal with incidents common to the lives of urban and suburban children, the material may be foreign to many Amerind youngsters. Policemen, postmen, fireman, milkwagon deliveries, elevators, tugs, street-cars or busses, fire-hydrants, telephones, while common to millions of White children just don't come within the experience of many Indian youngsters. Ultimately, one of the jobs of the Indian school is to build up in Indian children understanding of these phases of American life—but that part of learning from books can come later, after the *techniques* of reading have been mastered.

Finding printed materials which may be meaningful to young Indian children is not easy. The books recommended in the Indian Service Booklist, have been selected because they come closest to dealing with meaningful subject-matter. To help supply reading that deals with the experiences of Indian children, the Education Division undertook the publication some years ago, of reading and information pamphlets dealing with the materials of Indian Life.

Some of these publications were planned for children of the older grades, in order to give them accurate information about the history and customs of the various Indians tribes, and about their handicrafts. But the largest series so far is that presenting incidents of Indian life in story form. These Indian Life Readers, however, are designed to serve a dual purpose. 1- They are planned to be good and meaningful reading for Indian children (or White children) anywhere. 2- They are also planned to contribute to the program of bilingual education which is sponsored by the Indian Service. Several articles in a later chapter discuss this program at greater length. Briefly, it is believed that for children who are learning a *new* language—and for many Indian children English is a foreign language — greater comprehension of the new language will be obtained when opportunities are presented to gain a clarified understanding of its structure and meaning by seeing how ideas may be expressed both in the new language and the familiar one. It is also believed that young Indians will be better off if they retain their native tongue while acquiring a second language.

The Indian languages of the United States had no written form before the coming of the White man. Sequoyah, the Cherokee, with the example of written European languages before him, developed a syllabary of some 84 characters with which Cherokee could be written — and then taught his fellow Cherokee to use them. Ultimately, newspapers were published in the Cherokee syllabary. Other Indian tribes have depended upon alphabets developed by missionaries or linguists, for the transfer of their languages to paper; but in many areas, the written forms of the Indian languages have spread rapidly among the tribesman when once introduced.

For many years the government opposed the use of the native Indian languages in its schools, concentrating their teaching on the use of English. Recently it has been recognized that the written forms of the native languages, especially among groups where large numbers of the older Indians have no use of English, might contribute to the more rapid spread of ideas regarding health, economic adjustment, wise use of resources, etc., and also be used for the permanent recording of tribal history, traditions and aspirations. At the beginning of the program it was also hoped that the parallel teaching of both languages might increase the rapidity and comprehension with which English was learned. Though the program has been limited in its application, evidence has accumulated that these advantages actually exist.

Education Division publications are grouped in three basic series, and include also a few miscellaneous pamphlets. Indian life and customs, and Indian history for older children are treated in the SHERMAN PAMPHLET series, most of the titles in which have been contributed by Dr. Ruth Underhill, anthropoligist in the Indian Service.

Indian arts and crafts are treated in the INDIAN HANDCRAFT series. INDIAN LIFE READERS, the bilingual series, has so far been limited to titles dealing with Navaho, Pueblo and Sioux life. Eventually readers may be added dealing with other tribal groups or areas.

To contribute to effective teaching in the field of co-operatives, a series of pamphlets for use in such instruction is available. Methods of low cost home construction will be presented in a new series, HOME IMPROVEMENT pamphlets. New titles in all series are appearing from time to time, and an inquiry addressed to Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas will bring a catalog and price list.

Individual copies of all Education Division publications are distributed to all schools of the Indian Service. Where more copies can be used with advantage as readers or as texts in Indian history or handicrafts, the necessary number of additional copies may be ordered in the same manner that other books listed in the booklist or annual estimate catalog are obtained.

A brief summary of the purpose to be served by each series follows:

Sherman Pamphlets dealing with life and customs contain authentic material which is important to employees in extending their own understanding of the background of native groups. The language is simple and straightforward which, together with the many illustrations, makes for easy comprehension by most children beyond the fourth grade level. Although this series may not yet contain a pamphlet dealing with the exact group with which the teacher is working, it is likely that any of the material will prove interesting. It is generally admitted that practically all Indian young people have an urge to know more about the habits of tribes other than their own. Home economics teachers will appreciate this material in their comparative study of native domestic arrangements in matters of food, clothing, utensils, housing and family relationships. They offer a point of departure for discussion of differences between customs of the various tribes, they suggest subjects for creative writing and dramatization, they guide students in construction work for classroom activities. The pamphlets suggest and illustrate tools and implements which the children may want to reproduce.

The *Indian Handcraft* pamphlets have the same general uses as those on Indian life and customs. In addition they are of practical value to those who are interested in knowing about or in working in the field of native crafts either in school or with adults. They suggest activities which can give life and added meaning to classroom programs. Since crafts work is often intimately related to the local native economy, some consideration might be given to the cost of materials, to the amount of time spent in making an article, to marketing practices as an integral part of training in mathematics. Crafts work is sometimes a leisure time activity and as such has a necessary place in the recreation program in dormitory living.

Indian Life Readers now number fifteen and increase in number each year. Six are stories about the Navaho, seven about the Sioux and two are Pueblo tales. While a few of these are intended for use with very young children, and the later Sioux stories are suited to junior and senior high students, the majority are right for children throughout the elementary school. High school youth find the stories delightful and are able to appreciate the beauty of the language and the deftness of the style to an extent which can not be expected of younger pupils. The familiar background and the simple language make for speed and comprehension in reading with a consequent feeling of satisfaction in accomplishment on the part of the student. They are excellent tools for remedial reading work because of the familiar vocabulary, the lack of complex sentence structure, and because the stories tell about things, people and events which are generally familiar to Indians.

It would be incorrect to feel that the Navaho booklets are for use only in Navaho schools, the Sioux only with Sioux young people. As a matter of fact, stories about one tribe are relished by youngsters of a different tribe. However, use of the stories anywhere calls for preparation of the pupils by the teacher for understanding and appreciation of the material. The full value of any piece of literature is determined by a skillful introduction on the part of the teacher. All of these books can be used in exactly the same way that any other reading material is used by a good teacher—for oral reading, for thought-getting or fact-finding reading, for pleasure reading, for reading aloud to others or for individual silent reading, for impromptu dramatization, for vocabularly building, for choral group reading. Because of their content they are particularly effective for silent reading where the objective is the understanding of meaning rather than the oral reading objective of the pronouncing of words and phrases.

With the exception of the Pueblo stories these books are printed in English with the native language in a parallel column. One of the Pueblo stories (Little Boy With Three Names) is in English, the other in English and Spanish.

These stories, together with the illustrations by native artists, may well serve as an inspiration toward creative writing and art by Indian children or on the part of teachers in the Service.

Indians, Yesterday and Today, not in any of the lists mentioned, brings together a series of radio broadcasts designed to present a true and comprehensive picture of the American Indian — historical backgrounds and present day developments in life and customs. Social studies teachers, history teachers, agriculture and livestock instructors, teachers of civics and government, those who work in health education, in arts and crafts or who are concerned in any aspect of Indian and federal relations will all find here some factual material related to their special field. The pamphlet can help dispel certain myths and misconceptions about Indians which are sometimes current even among Indian Service workers, and will be useful to those who are called upon at times to talk to audiences of White people. This series of broadcasts points the way for arranging school assembly programs, dramatizations, writing stories, plays and pageants.

Cooperatives for Indians consists of eighteen leaflets each of which is planned as a study of some aspect of the cooperative movement. One of the objectives of Indian education is to provide native young people with first hand experience in cooperative marketing—through participation in cooperative school projects,—and first hand experience in livestock management — through membership in junior cattle associations. These are seen as a means of training youth to take part in implementing the Indian Reorganization Act with its provisions for Indian credit and for tribal organization and self government. Every school is engaged in some such endeavors and should be making use of the pamphlets.

27. FROM WHERE WE ARE

AMERICAN educators of several generations ago celebrated what they thought was an achievement, when the graded school became possible. The proceedings of the National Education Association for several years recorded the arrival of the millennium — and then graded schools were taken for granted, even though they didn't solve all educational problems.

For the teacher who had been struggling to be all things to students in all grades, the graded system in schools large enough to permit some degree of segregation, did offer considerable relief. However, there followed in its wake the usual ossification of pattern which has since threatened to create as many new problems as the graded system was supposed to solve. When it became possible to define what went into each of the six or eight grades, each taught by a different teacher, it should have been possible to increase the amount of individual attention each child received. With fewer things to think about, the teacher should have been able to know each child better and see to it that he got exactly what he needed.

It has been evident from the beginning of schools that different children learn at different rates of speed and with differing degrees of thoroughness. Regardless of how hard a teacher strove to teach every child the same thing, reviews and examinations continued to reveal that her success varied from almost 100 per cent to practically zero.

Faced with such variation, some standard had to be determined upon as a measure of readiness to proceed to the next step. It early became clear that it was physically impossible to test the children on everything that had been taught, so examinations became rough samplings of the course of study—and gradually it became agreed that if a child appeared to remember two-thirds of the sampling, he might be allowed to "pass." Variations in this pattern have been tried out here and there, but the overwhelming majority of teachers and schools have tacitly accepted 65% as passing.

It thus becomes clear than many of the pupils entering the second grade from the first will bring with them only about two-thirds of what they might have been taught. And because of the variations inevitable in human beings—very few will be possessed of the same two-thirds. The second grade teacher is confronted with two alternatives when she accepts a new group.

1. She can recognize the fact that the children will be at differing stages of learning and development, attempt to determine just how far each has gone and then proceed onward from that point with each child.

2. Or she can decide to take for granted that all the children, having been in school a year, *should* be ready to proceed with the educational program set out in the course of study for the second grade.

Which she does will be determined in large part by her supervisory officials. If principal or visiting supervisor demands that the teacher be teaching from the second grade course of study (if there is one) when he visits her grade, and himself refuses to face the fact of individual differences, the teacher will soon try to close her eyes to the facts, too. If the supervisors want to kid themselves, who is she to call down imprecations on her own head in an endeavor to set them right!

As a matter of fact, no course of study can be much more than a pious hope. When it is assumed to be anything else, self deception inevitably follows. That is one reason why there is no Indian Service course of study. The other is because the regions of the Service differ so greatly that no "uniform'' course could be more than window dressing for the Chicago Office. It would have to be disregarded in the field if the children were actually to be taught most of the things that they need to know.

Locally it is desirable that some sketch of probable sequence of teaching units be prepared. It is rather hard on a new teacher to be thrown into a class without at least some guide to indicate what has happened —and what is expected to follow. But the very freedom from a uniform course of study is intended to provide the stimulus to take *children where they are* and carry them as far as they are able to go.

There is no one who can say that you aren't teaching the subject matter of any particular grade — because there has been no official agreement as to what that should be. Common sense tells us that our children must be taught to speak and understand the English language. When they can do that, they should be taught to read, fluently and with understanding. Oral ''word calling'' from a printed page is not reading. Our children must be able to read with increasing ease and comprehension as they advance in school experience. As they read more readily, reading becomes an important means of acquiring information in a variety of areas. The child who can read understandingly has acquired the most important tool of education and is thereafter in a position to educate himself even if he must stop school.

It should also be self-evident that some understanding of numbers is essential to participation in modern society. The first step is mastery of the four fundamental processes. Such mastery must be automatic, and until it is attained the student lacks the basic foundation upon which all later numerical operations must rest.

For children who enter school with the handicap of not understanding the English language, all of this learning is bound to be delayed. On an area like the Navaho or the Papago or a Sioux reservation, it should be possible to determine just how much retardation must be anticipated.

With help from principals and supervisors, a program of activities which will lead to definite and explicit language experience and learnings must be planned for the early years. Such programs should not be matters of chance, but should be planned in terms of words, phrases and connected concepts to be attained by the children. Whether they are acquiring command of such skills should be objectively measured. And only when there is concrete evidence of such achievement can the teacher profitably embark on reading instruction. No one can learn to *read* in a foreign language something that he doesn't understand. Even if he could, he wouldn't have any useful skill.

Whether a child *can* read is also something which cannot be left to chance. Definitely planned group experiences, in which simple stories or daily records are composed by the children, in terms of their actual spoken vocabularies, should form the first material for reading. Endless repetition of simple common material is essential to ''fix'' the word and sentence forms of any language. And what is true of a native language is true in greater degree of a ''foreign'' language, as English is to many Indian children.

The basic things must be learned, whether it takes two years or four—and until they are learned, there exists a permanent block to educational advance. It is foolish for a second grade, a fourth grade, or a sixth grade teacher to worry about subject matter, unless she has positive evidence that her children possess the basic skills of speaking and understanding, reading and comprehending, transferring thoughts accurately to paper, and operating successfully and automatically progressive stages of the arithmetic process. The first step for any teacher when she receives a new class should be to examine objectively the degree of skill in the tools of education possessed by each of the children who have come to her,—and on the basis of this information, plan a teaching program that will patch up weaknesses and move forward from the point which each child has reached. If the class never reaches the content which she originally planned to teach them, but has mastered the basic tools of learnings, their time with that teacher will have been well spent.

And when it is found—as it so often is—that the children don't measure up to expectations, don't indulge in recriminations. There is nothing to be gained by scolding a child for what he doesn't know. That only teaches him to hide his ignorance to avoid a scolding. Children should always feel free to ask for help if there is something they don't understand or can't do—not hide their weaknesses.

Neither is there any point to laying public blame on the preceding teacher. She may have done the best she knew how with what she had.

The duty of each teacher should be clear. *It is objectively, calmly and sympathetically to take children where they are and lead them forward as far they can go in the time allotted.*

7.

COMMON SENSE ABOUT HEALTH

1. FIRST THINGS FIRST

"PLACING first things first" is usually a summons to consider spiritual values ahead of material values But it is written of Jesus that he fed the starving and healed the sick, before he talked to them of spiritual values.

In the Indian Service some of us at times forget the need for emphasis on the physical necessities, in our concern with the particular brand of salvation that happens to be our major interest. There are teachers in the Navaho schools, for example, who resent the interference with "school work" occasioned by Health Division's concern over trachoma. In some of our boarding schools, the administration and the staff find it "impossible" to modify the programs of children recently discharged from the tuberculosis sanatoriums. Other school administrators find the deviations from routine which are necessary in order to hospitalize venereal cases at the school so great, that they are willing to subject whole communities to the danger of infection from uncured and uncontrolled carriers rather than handle such children in the school hospital, where they can be cared for without danger to others.

These are only a few specific instances. Many more might be cited. In almost every case the schools willingly would have received and taught the child his lessons. What was objected to as beyond reason was that the school modify its program so as to *place first things first.*

What does it serve that we teach a boy to read if within a few years he loses the sight of his eyes from trachoma? What good is a high school diploma to a boy or girl who will be claimed in a brief time by death from tuberculosis? What better service can we render a child or a community than to effect a cure of active syphilis or gonorrhea and where better to do it than a school hospital—if all of the reservation hospitals are full?

A short time ago an Indian in one community complained that his reservation superintendent had cut off his ten-dollar a month allowance paid to persuade him *to leave his little farm and to come and live in a tent near the school.* Education in that case had been rated by the official as superior to economic self-support. Such rating is unsound and untrue.

At another center where land is being bought for landless Indians, the families are already established and eking out a livelihood from hunting, fishing, small gardening, and day labor. There is no school in the immediate neighborhood. A field worker recommended that we move all of these families bodily to another nearby center where they might live through the winter on relief stores and occupy an abandoned CCC camp, so that the children might attend school. He was prepared to pauperize a people to provide the children an education —the first tenet of which should be the importance of economic self-support. Again, a case of mistaken values.

A public school board in a western state has been paying a father 25 cents a day for each of three children, to transport these children to school. The maximum which can be paid for such transportation service to a single family is apparently 75 cents. The father is retaining two other children of school age at home, demanding 25 cents apiece a day for their attendance also. And another public school principal has been distributing 25 cents per week to every Indian child with perfect attendance for that week. *It was their "cut" of the tuition money received from the Government for their education,* and from the business standpoint of the board of education, a good investment, for the board received $1.25 per week for every pupil without an absence.

In each of these instances, however, education becomes a grotesque distortion of itself. Conceived of as an aid toward better social and economic adjustment, education cannot justify itself if it destroys economic self-sufficiency.

Schooling may be a right or a privilege, but can seldom be of value if its participants are driven, bribed, or bought. No demonstrated outcome of American educational policy has yet proved powerful enough to overcome the initial corruption in the mind and heart of the child brought about by such tactics.

A Navaho child, herding sheep on the hillside of his native country, is potentially a better citizen-in-the-making without schooling than the same child cajoled or forced away to school. A Dakotah youngster working around the tipi of his parents who are wrenching a meager but independent living from their surroundings is probably better off out of school, than the same child if his education is being purchased by the substitution of governmental "handouts" for honest, individual effort.

This is not to say that the Education Division looks with equanimity upon the ten thousand or more Indian children still outside of formal school, but to emphasize that schooling may be bought (or sold) at such a price as to become more of a liability than an asset.

In their native state, Indian children were educated, not in reading and number as in our American schools, but in crafts and customs which were calculated to make for them "a good life." This kind of education should not be destroyed unless we are sure that the substitute will prove as valuable for them.

Learning to care for one's sick body so as to protect others from infection, is education; learning to conserve one's own health and strength after illness is education; learning to subject one's self to the discomfort of a lengthy and disrupting regimen in order to regain health is education; learning the satisfactions that come from economic self-sufficiency is education. These learnings are fundamental to life, compared to which classroom techniques are but superficial luxuries.

Physical well-being and economic self-sufficiency are indeed *first things*. Education must be founded on these concepts and these realities, and on these foundations only may we erect desirable cultural values. Culture alone is a sterile thing.

—*Townsend and Beatty*

2. HEALTH AN ESSENTIAL

HEALTH is basic to economic success or personal happiness. There is little point to teaching a person to read if his eyes are so badly afflicted with trachoma that blindness is likely to result. Pushing a tuberculous child through high school is a pointless procedure if he is to die of the disease shortly after graduation. However, conditions of this kind can be ameliorated or cured, if taken in time and made the first order of business. These convictions have led to increasingly close cooperation between the Education and Medical Divisions of the Indian Service. Several years ago a casual statement pointing out the importance of such cooperation fell on especially fertile soil. The reservation principal and senior physician of a northern reservation who heard the remarks took them to heart and made practical application to their own problems. On this reservation as in every community, were children and adults in need of medical attention for the correction of disorders. Trachoma, diseased tonsils, and the venereal diseases were the most prevalent of these chronic ailments, not sufficiently crippling to convince the sufferer of the need for hospitalization, and yet too serious to be corrected as the result of one or two medications at a field clinic or during casual hospital visits. What was needed was some arrangement which would facilitate frequent regular visits on the part of the affected individuals to the hospital for treatment.

The hospital was not equipped with conveyances which could collect a number of individuals who were perfectly capable of getting around by themselves. On the other hand the school busses could furnish this kind of conveyance but were in use twice a day for relatively long trips. If Education was serious in its belief that the clearing up of disease was a first essential and the Medical Division was equally serious in its readiness to put its forces to work to stamp out disease, it seemed to these men that somehow or other school busses could be used after they had delivered children to school, to pick up persons needing treatment. The physicians of the reservations could rearrange their schedules so as to operate intensive clinics for the regularized treatment of such individuals when they could be brought to the hospitals or other centers, until they could be declared either arrested or cured.

Such a schedule was worked out and the problem became how to persuade the affected Indians that they should take advantage of the new opportunity to rid themselves of diseases which in many cases had been hanging on so long that the individual had learned to make allowances for his handicap and accepted it as a matter of course.

Good salesmanship by both divisions successfully launched the plan. The effectiveness of the program was thereafter its own best advertisement. It is reported that the proportion of such curable diseases has been greatly reduced as a result. While it is recognized that such additional use of automotive equipment will wear it out that much quicker, it is hoped that the results will be sufficiently significant to assist in securing funds for its replacement. The idea is subject to adaptation anywhere throughout the Service where such cooperation appears desirable.

3. A PRACTICAL BOARDING SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAM

THERE have been many generalizations regarding a desirable program of health education in Indian Service schools. The following paragraph taken from the manual for Indian schools, (1941), summarizes these generalizations.

HEALTH EDUCATION. *In boarding schools opportunities shall be provided at ap-*

propriate periods in the school program for experience in healthful living in an environment not unlike that of the reservation; for assuming responsibility for personal and community health practices; for acquiring the information necessary to understand these practices; for developing special knowledge and skill in connection with infant and child care, home nursing, home sanitation, community sanitation, first aid, and safety practices. Every individual employed at the school (academic and vocational teachers, matrons, advisers, nurses, doctors and others) shall share in the responsibility for the educational activities, which shall be available for both boys and girls. Programs at day schools shall be carred along similar lines in so far as practicable but adapted to day schools conditions.

Just how to proceed in the circumstances, however, is not always quite so clear. Dr. H. N. Sisco, retired physician of the Chilocco Agricultural School, sets forth a series of specific and concrete activities developed by the Chilocco staff under his direction during his last five years.

The teacher best prepares the pupil for adult community life by making use, objectively, in school, of community resources. This applies to training in health and sanitation as well as to any other line of educational endeavor. For several years the Chilocco Agricultural School worked out a health education program based on this principle.

The school operates a ranch of eight thousand six hundred forty acres of farm and grazing land, with numbers of stables and barns, a large dairy, slaughter house, chicken ranch, granaries, toolhouses, etc. At the school site proper there are six large homes in which nearly seven hundred pupils are domiciled; a kitchen, dining room, bakery, and food storage rooms; a cannery, laundry and various trade shops and agricultural buildings, several apartment houses, besides a considerable number of private cottages—a total of some one hundred and twenty-seven buildings.

On the outskirts of the reservation, a mile or two distant, are located fifteen homestead families, (totaling about sixty persons) under the supervision of the school.

The homesteaders, students, and employees constitute a community of about nine hundred fifty persons. The facilities exist, therefore, for both an urban and a rural health and sanitation program.

The school proper provides the following project teaching opportunities: garbage, trash and sewer disposal; the sanitation of toilets, showers, and lavatories; the problems of heating, lighting, and ventilation; safety devices in connection with machinery; traffic problems, fire hazards, the first aid care of accidents and the treatment of simple ailments; sanitation of food supplies, rodent and insect control; swimming pool sanitation; sanitation of kitchen, dining room, and bakery; and sanitation of the laundry work, and the like. There are also the annual physical examination of the student body; the problem of communicable diseases, immunization, and quarantine; the special problems of tuberculosis, trachoma, and the venereal diseases, the question of conservation of sight and hearing; and the matter of nutrition.

On the homesteads we have, in addition to many of the above, the problem of water supply—the well, the construction and care of the privy, and the immunization of preschool children. And, too, we have the nutrition and health aspects of the subsistence garden, the production of eggs, and the raising of chickens for food.

Thus we have in these many health and sanitation problems abundant teaching opportunities, applicable to the dweller in town or in a rural community.

The health program is sponsored by the academic department of the school, and carried on by the students, under the direction of the teacher. A health committee leads the work. The staff of the school hospital acts as a reference bureau. The instruction is given in the ninth, the eleventh, and the twelfth grades. The present plans have been worked out from actual experience over a period of several years.

The school has the use of the dairy bacteriological incubator for the culture work; the home economics department loans a pressure cooker for sterilization purposes; the science department provides glassware, utensils, etc.; and the hospital furnishes the culture media and distilled water.

At the beginning of the ninth grade there is a brief survey of the anatomy and physiology of the human body. This forms a good groundwork for the discussion of the physical examination of the student body, going on at the time in the school. The purpose and use of this examination is explained. A copy of defects found is placed on file at the school office for the use of the teacher in her work.

The second project is the testing of the vision of all ninth grade pupils. This is done in the school room. A copy is retained, and a copy filed at the hospital with the pupil's permanent records.

The above tests naturally lead on to a discussion of the hygiene of vision and hearing. The light meter is used to test illumination in the classroom, library, etc., and records are made.

Bacteria are demonstrated in the classroom by taking swabs from pupils' faces, hands, teeth, clothing, desks, pencils, books, exposing agar plates to the air, etc. These specimens are allowed to develop colonies for forty-eight hours in a warm part of the room—some where the temperatures is low, some in the sunlight, and some in the darkness. The students participate in the work throughout.

A discussion of the role of bacteria in the causation of disease naturally follows the above demonstration, and the health value of personal cleanliness, and of sunlight, are easily shown.

Eleventh grade pupils regularly inspect the trash burners, report to the class and discuss their findings.

The garbage disposal route is checked at intervals, and a report is turned in to the main office.

The method of sewage disposal is demonstrated in operation, and discussion follows.

The drinking water, which in this case is chlorinated, is tested with the colorimeter by the students in order to determine if the amount of chlorine is adequate to render the water safe for drinking purposes.

The source of the drinking water is several wells at a distance from the campus. These are visited and methods of rendering water safe for drinking are discussed.

Samples of water are taken in the prescribed way by the members of the class and sent to the state health laboratory for test.

The fly menace is taken up in season, and practical application of methods of control is found in the students' kitchen and dining room, bakery, and at the dairy.

The dairy and beef herds are visited on the occasion of the test for tuberculosis and for undulant fever.

The bacteria count of the school dairy milk is taken at intervals, the actual work and counting being done in class.

The bacteria count is also taken of the dairy utensils to see that the sterilization process is adequate.

Counts are taken, too, from the eating utensils at the general kitchen and dining room. It is known that quite a number of diseases are communicated if the utensils are not properly treated.

Counts are taken from the rinse waters and from the ironed clothes at the school laundry.

The fifteen homesteader families are visited several times during the school year in the interests of sanitary conditions of homes, yards, stables, wells, privies, etc. The students make the trips and report, under the direction of the teacher.

Besides the above class projects, individual projects are carried on by members of the class all the year.

In the twelfth grade the immunization of the student body in the fall at the school hospital, for small pox, diptheria, typhoid fever and the test for tuberculosis, afford a large amount of material for project study of the value of these procedures in the prevention of disease in the community.

Quarantine as related to the spread of communicable disease is illustrated by cases of isolation of such diseases at the hospital, and the isolation care under which such cases are kept till the danger is passed.

During the early part of the year the chests of the reacters to the Mantoux test are filmed. The exhibition of these films in class and the discussion thereon concerning tuberculosis control form an important project.

And again, the taking of the Wasserman test in the school provides an excellent introduction to the study of the venereal diseases.

Conclusion: We are convinced that most valuable health education can be given Indian young people on the high school level through the project method. Of course a few of the actual technical procedures will never be used by the individual later, but their value will be understood and the principles involved can be applied in the home and in the community.

Many resources are always available in and about every school. Equipment is not difficult to obtain. But health-minded and scientifically equipped teachers are necessary. Cooperation of school superiors is very important, and intelligent planning and supervision of the program must be supplied.

In how many Indian Schools will this simple yet thorough program serve as a stimulus to better health teaching?—*Sisco and Gerken.*

4. PLANNING A HEALTH PROGRAM

Set goals and devise plans to provide experiences in school out of which the child may gain knowledge, skill, and attitudes that will help him to live satisfactorily in his own community.

PLANNING the school health program should be a joint project in which every one who comes in contact with the child in school or home, shares. The teacher is often regarded as the key person because she is with the child for a large proportion of the day. The parents are equally important and should be brought into rapport with the program for the child more frequently than is often the case. The professional health personnel including the physician, the dentist, and the nurse who work in the school are not only responsible for certain types of health service but for giving technical information to guide the teaching program, and should share in its planning. The janitor, the driver of the school bus, the dining room and kitchen staff, are also concerned. Anyone who comes in contact with the child has a potential influence on the child's attitudes and knowledge.

A program planned jointly with the participation of representatives of all these groups will be sound educationally because it has the benefit of trained educators; it will be scientifically accurate because it has been guided by professional health workers; it will be simple and practical because of the contribution of lay workers who see the child in unguarded moments and know well his responses and how he applies his learning. The wise administrator will take steps to see that the planning of the program is a joint undertaking. The isolated teacher will seek the help of all those who in any way share in her work.

Having explored the field and discovered what is needed, goals should be set up for the child within these various fields of needs, and activities planned through which the child may reach these goals. It is not necessary that the child be aware of the teacher's goals for him but he must find satisfaction on his own level from participation in the activities planned. For example, the teacher may set up as a goal, participation by the child in making his own environment at school hygienic, sanitary and safe. In the activity for achieving this goal the children will find satisfication because it is fun to hunt for loose nails, broken glass, holes in the ground, protruding nail heads or screws on old furniture, or something else on which one might get hurt; or to build a new doorstep to replace a broken one; or to make a window deflector which will keep the wind from blowing across the desks while it permits fresh air to come in; or to make screens for the lower part of the window to prevent glare. Immediate satisfaction must always be provided for the child whom we cannot expect to be thrilled over the prospect of such an obstract thing as "Health"!

In search for meaningful activities the teacher should remember that the school deprives the child of opportunities for growth when it does for him things which he should do for himself. Too many times the health education program is an ineffectual reciting of health rules or making posters which are meaningless because not tied into the child's own problems while the teacher herself is carrying responsibilities which should be given to the children. Participation in making the classroom and playground hygienic, sanitary and safe; in checking on immunizations of children and arranging for attendance at clinics; in devising special equipment such as first aid cabinets, handwashing devices, paper handkerchief dispensers, and thermometer racks are all activities which might well be undertaken by children under the teacher's supervision. Out of such activities, learnings of many kinds will grow. Children are interested in what they themselves are doing, hence pupil participation in carrying on a school health program is one answer to the quest for meaningful activities.

It is a mistake for teachers to become too much concerned over the things which the child does at home over which she has no control if she is not using to the fullest extent the opportunities which occur in the school itself for giving the child experiences in healthful living; in controlling the environment; and in cooperating with the physician, the dentist, and the nurse in the services they are rendering.

In addition to this type of experience there is need of a planned program of activities which include experiments, reading, discussion, surveys, through which older children may explore the scientific basis for health practices, learn to know something about the body, how it functions, and what are its needs if it is to continue to grow and function satisfactorily. They need to know something about public health and how it safeguards the lives and welfare of groups of people; to investigate community resources for public health and to understand the responsibility of citizens with regard to these activities. They need to know first aid procedures and the principles underlying proper infant care and the care of those who are sick. Only when plans are made providing specific opportunities for children to achieve these goals will the school have discharged its responsibilities in health education. In some instances this can be done in connection with other subject matter courses, such as science, home economics, civics, and physical education. It cannot be assumed, however, that this instruction has been given unless the curriculum has been carefully evaluated to see that adequate plans have been made for it. This should be the task of a joint planning committee.

> *Evaluate progress in terms of these goals to ascertain that the program is actually functioning and not mere busy work.*

It is not enough to have activities. The teacher must constantly check to see that progress is being made in the direction of the goals set. Are the children deriving from the activities the knowledge, skills, and attitudes which they need in order to meet the problems which have been recognized in their particular community?

One of the mistakes sometimes made by teachers who undertake to adopt the new philosophy of education is that of losing sight of goals of accomplishment in their concern for activities. In other words the activity becomes an end rather than a means to the goals which under the old methods were sought through formal teaching. Such a program is mere busy work and pointless because the child does not make progress. The wise teacher will safeguard her activities by frequently looking at her goals.

The teacher who fulfills successfully the requirements of this modern health education program must be well grounded in educational psychology and methods, and thoroughly familiar with the sciences upon which health rests. She must study her child and the community in which he lives. She must work cooperatively with others who come in contact with the child, setting goals, planning for activities in healthful living and for inquiry into the fundamental principles which underlie such living. She must help the child to assume responsibility for his own health conduct and to understand his community with its problems and resources. Under such expert direction health education today will contribute to better living because young men and women will have had first hand experiences in healthful living in school, will have explored the fundamental problems involved in the community and their responsibilities in connection with these, and will be capable of meeting today's health problems intelligently.

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—*Gerken*

5. RESPECT FOOD HABITS

"WHAT is one man's food is another man's poison," is one of those sayings which time and medical science have more than justified. Nothing more completely distinguishes the different races of the earth than their eating habits. What is eaten, how it is prepared, and the particular foods which are deemed to go well in association varies greatly from place to place and from time to time.

Availability of foods is one controlling factor; custom another; pseudo-scientific fads a third. Rice is a staple of oriental diet because it is the commonest grain and therefore the cheapest; the Eskimo eats seal oil and fish because they are easy to get and there is little else to be had; the Mexican uses corn (or more correctly maize) because it is the most easily raised grain of his country; the Asian nomad and the Navaho Indian eat mutton because it is what they have.

The farmer boy, raised on ham and eggs for breakfast, because the morning promised heavy physical toil, continues most of his life eating ham and eggs for breakfast though he becomes a sedentary pedagogue or lawyer. The New Englander brought up on pie for breakfast never realizes its "incongruity," even when it is pointed out by the westerner who has become accustomed to orange juice and corn flakes.

French dishes are notably prepared with well flavored sauces; British beef and mutton are notoriously without flavor, the toast is cold and the potatoes soggy; Italian meals are built predominantly around wheat pastes.

The great enrichment of our vegetable bill of fare contributed by the American Indian revolutionized the menus of the western world, but in each country the new contributions were worked into the national eating habits in a peculiarly nationalistic manner. For example the Frenchman, the Britisher, the American, and the Irishman have dealt with the potato in highly distinctive ways.

The analysis of food values first into calories of nutriment, and later into vitamin content opened the way for a great deal of dietary hocus pocus and the discovery of new ways of preparing and preserving many foods introduced a new element of economic exploitation.

The United States has provided a fertile field for both types of extravagance, and advertising has proved of inestimable value to the exploiter in modifying the food habits of the nation, to its very great cost. Much of the change has served to lighten the labor of the housewife, and so has found its reception ready-made by a generation of women only too ready to believe that food could be prepared "instantaneously" if only it came out of a tin can or a highly lithographed box, wrapped in wax paper or celophane.

The increase in dental caries (holes in teeth) and constipation which has accompanied our dietary changes has not been equally well advertised—or has merely led to a further deluge of quack toothpastes and synthetic laxatives.

The experiments of Dr. C. A. Aldrich* and Dr. Clara Davis who have allowed a significantly large number of infants an opportunity for free choice of foods over a long period of time have won only passing mention. The results, however, were most significant and important. Babies were offered a wide variety of cooked and uncooked food each meal, and allowed absolute freedom in choosing variety and amount to be eaten. What was eaten and how much was recorded. The results showed that while the children chose little variety at any one meal, within a month of time their free choices resulted in as well balanced a diet as a trained pediatrician might have precribed.

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*"Cultivating the Child's Appetite," C. A. Aldrich, M. D., MacMillan, 1932.

Anthropologists have usually found primitive peoples in their native state eating a balanced diet. Marked changes in the native diet have frequently resulted disastrously. Increased susceptibility to disease, and almost invariably rapid deterioration of the teeth have been the immediate results.** Similarly, studies of national food habits have often shown an excellent balance of caloric values and vitamins to be present in foods at first condemned by medical men. For instance, the sheep's viscera which the Navaho eats from choice was first rejected as "unclean" by our dietitians and later found to contain many of the vitamins which the White man gets from green vegetables and tomatoes. In the same manner we have questioned the Eskimo's oily diet only to discover the stored sunlight in the fish-liver oils.

Here and there individual Americans may learn to prefer an alien diet, but by and large the effect of significant dietary change may be harmful from both psychological and physical standpoints. Unaccustomed foods are not appetizing to the same degree as are pleasantly familiar foods We therefore, don't eat with the same gusto or in the same amount. Some of the new foods are more distasteful than others, which results in our eating unbalanced meals—both in terms of what we are used to eating, and in terms of the new diet. As a result we get a badly unbalanced ration.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising to find the menus of our Indian boarding schools prepared in almost complete disregard of native eating habits and regional food supplies The rapid advance in methods of preserving typical White foods has made it as easy to have escaloped tomatoes in Alaska as in California; canned spinach in South Dakota as in New Jersey; puffed rice on the Navaho reservation as in Minneapolis. Highly trained dietitians, who believe that milk is the best all round food; that tomatoes are a sure source of vitamin A; that eggs are high in nutriment (protein, minerals and vitamins); that cod liver oil is good for rickets in countries of little sunlight; have built the menus of our schools in these terms regardless of the native food habits of the children or the potential foods which might be produced in the area, and with which the children's diet would have to be continued after leaving school.

In many recent years dried fish, seal oil, and seal liver, normal and necessary articles of diet for Eskimos and Alaska Indians, were completely absent from the tables of our Alaska schools. Milk was produced at great expense and effort at many of our schools in areas where a cow is an anomaly, and cow's milk unheard of in the native dietary. Prepared breakfast foods such as corn flakes, puffed rice, and shredded wheat were on the breakfast menu of almost every Indian boarding school, despite the fact that they are notoriously the most expensive form in which cereals can be bought and totally unsuited to the food habits of a people most of whom are looking forward to the production of their own food, and who will have little ready money for such expensive luxuries.

Not only have we gone to considerable expense to ship such unsuitable foods into schools at great distances from the sources of production, but we have firmly and, we thought, kindly insisted that children change completely their dietary habits to

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**"Taro and Sweet Potatoes vs. Grain Foods in Relation to Health and Dental Decay in Hawaii," M R. Jones, Nils P. Larsen, M. D., and G. P. Richard, D. D S., The Dental Cosmos, April 1934 pp. 395-409.

conform to our peculiar American prejudicies as to what was good for them. The kind intent probably masked an unintentionally cruel form of maltreatment.

Put yourself in the place of the children. Imagine a daily meal of seal liver, berries soaked in seal oil and well aged salmon—if you aren't accustomed to it—or at the other extreme, a diet of frijoles and redhot chili sauce, cold enchilades and chiliconcarne if you have been brought up in a home where pepper is almost unknown.

The implications are clear. A careful study and *use* of native foods is indicated—and equally important, an analysis of the less expensive forms in which articles of common diet may be purchased. Rolled oats may be obtained in quantity packed in sacks like flour, and while it requires a trifle longer cooking, it is probably more nourishing than many of the steam treated, boxed, and well advertised brands. Semolina may be obtained similarly from flour mills or macaroni factories, and costs half as much as prepared wheat mushes, without being greatly different.

More suitable foods at a substantial saving in cost should be the result of such an open-minded study of foods habits and sources of supply. Let's stop trying to force a middle-class American diet upon people who prefer something else, and will probably have to live on something else much of their lives. Remember: What nature offers in support of life is probably best suited to the area in which it is found.

6. ONE MAN'S MEAT

THE war period has seen an increased emphasis on nutritional needs. Colorful posters tell us to eat a rainbow assortment of foods — foods containing the essential vitamins, minerals and energy building proteins and carbohydrates. Vice - President Wallace dramatizes the battle for more and better eating by advising us to win the peace by helping the nations of the world to produce more food for all.

For a world in which only a small minority has ever been well fed, all of this attention to food is highly desirable. However there is also real danger in the specific nature of many of the recommendations. Milk is a good food. Most milk contains a beneficial variety of many of the things our bodies need. However not all people can drink milk. Food for most, milk is poison for some—and strange as it may seem, these exceptional few who are unable to drink milk manage to get its values in some other way. Some of the best teeth in the world grow on people who never drink milk but find a usable source of calcium in other foods such as cheese, beans, etc.

Orange and tomatoes are an important source of vitamins and judicious plugging of that fact by the growers and marketers of these foods has vastly increased their use. Yet they are both relatively newcomers to the American table—within the last generation. And while tomatoes were called "love apples" and thought to be poisonous, people managed to be reasonably healthy. Here again, what are toothsome morsels to some may be poison to others. Many people are allergic to citrus fruits and some react adversely to tomatoes. It is quite clear that the same elements are present in many other foods—these are merely handy packages which offer a palatable dosage of desirable foods values. Raw cabbage for example contains vitamin C, is therefore a good substitute and is available in many areas.

Furthermore, blind faith in the inevitability that these foods will always contain the stated amounts of various vitamins, minerals, etc., may be misplaced. No cow manufactures calcium. She merely passes it along. If adequate amounts of calcium (or any other substance) are in the foods she eats, they will reappear in her milk. If the fodder is deficient—the milk will also be deficient. So with fruits or vegetables. Whatever they contain must have been in the soil in which they were grown. Vegetables will grow in ill-balanced soils—just as human beings will grow on an ill-balanced diet—and foods which are themselves deficient may appear outwardly normal.

There is a good deal of evidence that if human beings or animals thrive in an environment, they will normally find a balanced diet there. With Eskimos it will be largely meat or fish and their products. With Polynesians it will be largely vegetarian. In poorer environments there are greater probabilities of deficiency—but in a natural environment these are likely to be compensated for. For example some Indians got needed minerals by eating certain clays with wild tubers. The tubers were bitter and the clay was supposed to make them more palatable. It probably did, but it also contained needed food elements not otherwise present in the diet.

A few years ago the literature of the nutritionists overflowed with calories. Anyone who visited New York during that period may remember the menus of Childs' restaurants which listed the caloric content of all foods, and recommended the perfect balanced ration in these terms. Today's slogan of the nutritionists is vitamins. Again we find balanced rations, this time expressed in vitamins and minerals. They weren't mentioned during the caloric epidemic because they hadn't been discovered then. There is no question about the importance of vitamins to human health, but there are probably many facts about nutrition still to be discovered.

There is no doubt that more and better food is a great need for many people. It is clear that a varied menu offers a better chance for a balanced diet than a limited one. But a few other facts should help us to avoid the excess always present at the height of a new fad—and vitamins are today's food fad.

1. "What is one man's meat may be another man's poison." Therefore no attempt should be made to force foods which the individual rejects.

2. There are many sources of desired food elements. Science, while a valuable ally in analyzing body needs and food values, moves forward a step at a time and we are far from knowing the whole story about diet. Let's not forget the spinach craze—followed later by the discovery that many essential elements present in spinach on the stalk are lost through enzyme action within a few hours after it is picked, therefore seldom present in the dish of spinach on the dinner table. Before spinach was discovered, men were getting the desirable vitamins and minerals from other sources, and have continued to get them since, without eating spinach.

3. Most native diets are reasonably well balanced in terms of the food sources of the environment. It is therefore dangerous to attempt to discourage the use of one food or urge the use of another, without knowing what the total effect will be. Missionaries worked for years to persuade the federal government to issue lean meat to the Plains Indians, instead of beef on the hoof, in order to stop the "disgusting" consumption of the blood and viscera. They succeeded—and we later discovered that they had thus deprived the Indians of one of their best sources of vitamins. Our Indian schools

were long guilty of similar indoctrination in the Navaho country and in Alaska. Maybe they still are despite statements like this from the "office," for teacher turnover is rapid, and nothing is more ingrained than food prejudices. Pijoan's diet study of the Papago, completed in 1943 reveals that the best nourished are those who follow the ancient pattern, depending largely on native foods. The most poorly nourished are the wage workers buying White foods from the trader.

A completely White diet has seldom been introduced to native peoples, for Whites depend on cultivated fresh vegetables, fresh meats and fresh fruits, supplemented with canned or preserved items. Seldom is the White table completely dependent on preserved foods—yet in remote areas the cost of transporting our "temperate zone" fresh foods places them beyond the purse of the native buyer. As a result, the native who has adopted the White menu is getting an imperfect balance from the trader's shelves. In his native state he would have gotten fresh food from the vegetation of his environment which would have compensated for the absence of fresh celery, lettuce, carrots, beets, cabbage, oranges, apples, grapes and tomatoes. Rabbits, squirrels, prairie dogs, and other meat not often eaten by Whites would supply the fresh meat, and the complete use of the animal (viscera, etc.) would have still further enriched the native diet.

4. It is pointless to teach dependence on foods not present in the environment. It is more important, for example, to find what is the best milk substitute in Northern Alaska and include that in the diet of our Alaska boarding schools, than to import cows to Eklutna or Wrangell and teach the children to drink milk. The same may well be true of many Indian reservations in the United States. Milk introduced into the diet inevitably replaces other foods with similar food values. When milk is automatically lost from the diet, it is often too late to develop a taste for the substitutes which are available. There was a time when the Indian Service shipped oranges to Point Barrow. It should have been manifest that nature provided the equivalent sources of vitamin C within the Artic Circle or man could never have lived there. The same energy could better have gone into analyzing the environment to discover what it supplied.

5. Food habits play an important part in physical and mental well-being. The body becomes accustomed to handling its nourishment in certain forms. A sudden change in the familiar pattern may fail to satisfy actual hunger and may also disrupt the feeling of satisfaction which comes from good food. Our hospitals often ignore this important factor in handling native patients. A good diet is provided for patients in terms of what White people are fed in hospitals. But the patient craves the familiar and often leaves before his cure is complete in order to get a "square meal." Hospitals could well afford to serve the popular native foods of their area.

7. INDIAN FOODS

AT ONE time the individual members of the North American Indian tribes were, generally speaking, healthy, stalwart and strong. Their bodies were outstandingly well developed and could endure extreme physical hardship. History tells us that in early times many Indians died of disease but we know that the "fittest" who did survive were noted for their fine physique.

If we could turn the clock back we should probably find that diet played an important role in their superior physical development, and from our research we might learn much that would be of value to us. Let's review briefly the foods that were included in their diet.

For protein, fats, minerals and vitamins they ate buffalo, rabbit, deer, bear, duck, geese, turkey, small birds, turtles, fish, fish eggs, bird eggs, and insects, including grasshoppers and ants.

For carbohydrates, minerals and vitamins they ate many varieties of land and sea plants, bulbs of the Mariposa tulip, the camass plant, the roots of wild turnips or Prairie potatoes, parsnips, clover, cacti, fern and bracken, the leaves, seeds, fruit, or stems of many "greens," sea weeds, eel grass; all kinds of wild berries such as salmon or raspberries, strawberries, gooseberries, elderberries, chokecherries, huckleberies, cranberries, salal, rose hips or haws, maize, wild rice, and all kinds of wild fruits, the inside bark of spruce and hemlock.

For sweets there were maple sap, sugar and honey.

Many different plants were used for brewing Indian tea, such as sage, peppermint, sassafras and winter green.

Long hours in the sun, and in some cases the consumption of large quantities of fish oils, gave them vitamin D.

The Indians knew how to preserve their food and they knew, too, how to preserve some of it so that it could be easily carried on long hard journeys. Their famous pemmican consisted of dried buffalo or venison meat, or dried fish, mixed with berries such as chokecherries, fat and herbs. It was compressed into small containers and, according to reports, it could be kept four or five years without spoilage. These foods stack up very well when compared with our present day foods. They may have been superior.

But, there is much more to be said about the diet. First of all it is unlikely that any one tribe was able to procure all of the foods listed above and it is doubtful that any one tribe could obtain during the entire year all the foods common to its home area, but somehow the diet helped to produce strong, vigorous people. Let's go a little farther.

The vegetables, grains, berries, fruits and nuts they had grew in soil that had not been depleted of minerals and nutrients. It was enriched and fertilized by the natural decay of leaves, grasses and manure. The Indians consumed all edible parts of the plants, leaves, roots, bulbs, seeds, skins, flowers, bark—any part that could be eaten. They were eaten soon after they were gathered and many times while they were being gathered so that there was little, if any, time for loss of vitamins. No precious food substances were taken out by processing. If they were cooked they were cooked with skins, stems, etc. on, and the water in which they were cooked was utilized.

The animals they ate fed on the "fat of the land" and their flesh, organs, bones and bone marrow, were rich in vitamins and minerals. The Indians ate them when freshly killed, flesh, fat, blood, organs, bone marrow, bones, and all.

Apparently the Indians, without knowing it, were good nutritionists because their former foods and their food habits compare rather favorably with present day standards of good nutrition, and they were willing to travel long distances to obtain the foods they needed for an adequate diet. Journeys to obtain salt were annual pilgrimages of great importance. It is possible that the efficacy of a number of plants classified as Indian medicines or ceremonial foods could be traced to their high mineral and vitamin content.

Today the Indians of necessity have a different set of food patterns and habits. No longer are they free to travel long distances to obtain the food they want and like. Their free hunting and fishing areas are restricted, as are the areas on which they can gather plants. Their supply of regulatory foods has been, in some cases, almost entirely cut off. Wild greens are still used by many tribes, but not in quantities sufficient to make up for the losses of vitamins. The processed foods which they have been forced to substitute for their original whole-product foods are lacking in many essentials. There is little doubt that the use of pinons, chute, cacti buds, wild onions, raw fish, fish oils, corn, prairie dogs, etc., foods so well liked and so extensively used by Indians, has played an important role in the maintenance of good health.

We are reminded of an old lady in Hoopa Valley who in reminiscing, states that until she was a grown woman she had never seen or eaten foods other than fish from the Trinity River, wild game, wild berries, and acorns. Though over one hundred years of age she is in good health and carries on her crafts work and household duties with considerable energy.

This data has many implications for Indian Service personnel but there are two that seem to be particularly valuable at the present time:

1. The present diet of Indians can and should be greatly improved through re-education in proper nutrition and by a re-introduction of many of the wild greens, grains, nuts, etc. listed above, into their diets. It seems particularly desirable to stress their use during the period of food rationing and as a precautionary health measure should transportation be greatly curtailed or entirely cut off, thereby lessening the amounts and kinds of foods that will be available for purchase.

2. Groups, other than Indians, could be better nourished if they could be persuaded to supplement their diets with the above foods. A booklet of correctly formulated and carefully tested recipes for using them could be a very valuable contribution that Indian people might make to the present campaign for food nutrition for all people.

The gathering and identification of these vegetable foods might profitably form the basis for both elementary and high school courses in botany or nature study or science.—*Helbing*

8. RIGHT EATING FOR HEALTH

INDIANS need foods rich in vitamins, especially vitamins C and A, during the winter. Vitamin C is the most easily destroyed of the known vitamins, and stored food loses much of it. The human body needs vitamin C daily; better still, three times a day. Vitamin A is also needed regularly. Young fresh green leaves supply both.

To keep a growing school boy or girl in good health, one-quarter to one-half cup of mixed raw greens, leaves, and carrots in a vegetable dish or salad will yield the amount needed daily. December, January, February, and March are the months when the homemaker and school housekeepers need to be especially watchful to supply the *fresh* green and yellow fruits and vegetables. But when it is winter on northern Indian reservations—fresh vegetables are hard to get. Not necessarily—if you live in a house or schoolhouse where there is one small spot where Jack Frost can be shut out.

All around the globe for uncounted generations, millions of wise women have supplied their families daily with tender, luscious green leaves by the simple method of inviting spring to come early to their kitchens.

What plants do the people invite to come before spring? The ones whose hardy seeds they have in large amounts. Rye on the steppes of Russia, wheat in the mountain valleys of the Alps, soybeans in China and Japan. What plants yield an abundance of vitamin C? Almost any tender, young, edible plants. The most easily available greens are sprouts of beans, wheat, barley, oats, rye, and corn. Any seeds that are plentiful on the reservations can be used. It's simple and it is fun to sprout grains.

Soybeans: Hand-sort and use only the whole normal sized beans (broken pieces and husks may spoil the whole supply). Add a level teaspoonful of chlorinated lime[1] to three gallons of water in a glass jar or bottle. Let stand for three hours. Soak one cup of beans in four cups of the treated water over night. Drain. After soaking over night the beans are placed in a clean scalded glass jar or glazed earthen pitcher. A flower pot may be used. It is, however, difficult to keep an unglazed pot free from mold germs. Fill the jar or pot only half full of beans. A piece of cheese cloth may be tied over the top with a deep sag so water can be gently poured into the jar. The jar is gently turned up-side-down immediately to drain. In that position it is stored in a dark warm place, never changing from 70 to 80 degrees in temperature. Temperature is important! Great care must be used not to break the beans.

The importance of keeping molds and fungi out with treated water cannot be overstated. Many batches of grain sprouts have been spoiled through the use of moldy cloths and pots, or from being placed in cabinets infested with mold or fungi. Only equipment that can be kept free from molds should be used. In the Indian home the entire equipment may consist of a clean scalded piece of cordstring, a piece of clean cheese cloth, a glass jar, and a clean newspaper or a clean cardboard box which will exclude all light. Where light is to be excluded by a newspaper, a dunce cap can be rolled and cut so it will fit over the inverted bean jar. Newspapers and paper boxes can readily be replaced and clean fresh ones used. The dark cardboard box can be placed near a heating stove or under the cook stove. If the dunce cap is used, it can be set over the jar and the jar placed on a shelf or near a stove. Sprouts are tender young plants. They must be grown in the dark and they must not be chilled.

The bean sprouts will thrive only if they are kept at a uniform temperature and watered regularly. Each morning and noon the bean jar should be filled with plain, untreated water at room temperature and the water drained off immediately. The jar should be inverted in a bowl and set in the dark. Each evening chlorinated lime water, room temperature, should be used and immediately drained off. The sprouting jar must be kept in the dark. Cold water must never be used. In 4 or 5 days and nights the sprouts will be ready to eat.

Grain sprouting is merely getting tender plants to grow early in the season in the house. There is no change in the food habits of the Indians in using them; the Indians have for centuries eaten green spring plants. They use the tender leaf buds of trees and bushes.

The hardy large seeds of beans, rye, barley, corn, oats, and wheat, are used because they sprout more readily than do the smaller seeds, such as lettuce.

Grain Sprouts: Sacks from about 12 x 15 inches of coarse cloth or burlap can be made to fit a glass or wooden tray about 3 inches deep. The tray should be fitted with wooden slats to allow for drainage. The bags are dipped into boiling water and cooled before the beans are spread in them. The seeds should be hand sorted, washed in treated water and soaked in treated water over night and drained. Four cups of seeds can be put into one bag. The bags are then placed on the slats in the tray. The tray is set in a dark place for about 5 to 7 days. Each day the tray is filled, morning and noon, with plain room temperature water, drained, and returned to the dark place. In the evening the tray is filled with treated water, drained and returned to the dark place.

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[1] Chlorinated lime can be purchased at a drug store. It is not expensive.

The beans or grains and their sprouts may both be eaten. They may be used in soups or served as a cooked vegetable. Grain sprouts raised in sacks can be clipped once or twice and the sprouts will continue growing until the seed is exhausted.

The grain sprouts of rye, wheat, barley, and oats are very tender and delicate in flavor. They should be served raw so as not to lose any of the precious vitamins. They add interest and vitamin value to many dishes. To begin the use of grain sprouts, they should be served in the foods that the children have long liked.

The use of tender green leaves is not new to the Indian children. They are common in Indian homes. For many years the school meals have included them. The cooks have used chopped onions, lettuce, parsley, chives, peppers, and many other greens. They have been added to the foods to give flavor. They also added needed vitamin content to the meals.

The fresh grain sprouts may be chopped and added to onions and peppers in salads, stuffed eggs, meat rolls, and many other dishes. Wise cooks will find many unusual and pleasing combinations.

Since the tender green leaves are rich in vitamin content they can be added in relatively small quantities.

To conserve the vitamin C, the sprouts should be used immediately after being removed from the grain or bean. They should be chopped quickly, kept cool and served at once. Soda should not be added.

—*Burton*

9. TEMPERATURE AND HUMIDITY

HOW warm should a class room be kept? If this were a matter of opinion, a variety of answers might be expected, dependent upon the reactions of different people as influenced by their responsiveness to temperature changes, the amount of clothes they wear and their physical activity.

Man lived in relative comfort for thousands of years in dwellings heated only by wood fires which kept the room temperatures only a few degrees higher than the outside air. Since the introduction of steam heat, men have adapted themselves to a mild degrees of parboiling and some have grown to like it.

Dr. C. E.-A. Winslow of Yale University has conducted a series of scientific investigations into the relationship of health to room temperature, especially as regards school rooms. He has found an intimate connection between room temperature and diseases of the nasal passages and lungs. In general, he finds that it is healthier to be somewhat cold than to be too warm. A temperature of *between 68 and 70 degrees* was found to be without question the most healthful for the school room. The lower temperature was considerably more desirable, especially in class rooms where the children were permitted to be active, in accordance with modern pedagogical thought.

Children confined to class rooms at temperatures much greater than this suffer much more from common colds and influenza. Tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases frequently follow.

But temperature is not the only factor in the control of air. Air movement and moisture are also found to play an important part. Dr. Winslow completely exploded the Germanic myth that a continuing change of air was essential. As incorporated in the school law of many states, this pseudo-scientific assumption calls for the mechanical introduction of air into class rooms at the rate of 30 cubic feet per minute. Dr. Winslow proved that if the air was kept in motion by means of fans or by means of the simple draft brought about by a slightly open window, a class room full of air could be used continuously by a group of children all day or for several days, without evidences of discomfort or loss of alertness. The peculiarly unpleasant body odors present in a room which has thus been continuously used can be considerably reduced if the air circulates, and bear no relationship whatever to the depletion of oxygen content. Lastly, a minimum amount of moisture appears to be necessary in order to reduce the tendency toward respiratory difficulties. Warmed air particularly is liable to be lacking in moisture content.

Fortunately, expensive equipment is not necessary to give effect to these recommendations. A stove, a thermometer, an open window, and a pan of water are the essential elements. One may, of course, substitute radiator for stove. The thermometer is essential, for it is the only accurate way to determine the actual room temperature. One's personal feelings are utterly unreliable. Such a thermometer may be hung from the ceiling in the center of the room, or two may be placed on opposite walls, one on the exterior wall near the windows, the other on the opposite interior wall. In view of the fact that air temperature varies at different heights in the room, the thermometer should be located in the air layer occupied by the children.

When the thermometer rises above 70 degrees it is time to do something either to the stove or to the windows. Some form of deflector board at the window sill is all that is necessary. Deflector boards might with advantage be placed on all of the window sills. Such a board may be made of anything from a sheet of plate glass to a piece of lumber out of a packing case Even stiffened cardboard can be adequate. This board should fit snugly against the window sill at the point where the window opens and extend from 12 to 18 inches above the sill. It should slope inward so that the upper edge is from two to four inches away from the window. A current of air entering through an opening of the lower sash will then be deflected upward and will tend to set the air in the room in motion above the children's heads, thus avoiding a draft.

Patented humidifiers which may be hung on the radiators are on sale in a number of hardware stores. As a matter of fact a majority of them are inferior to a pan full of water near the stove or under the radiator. A desirable humidifier is one that offers the largest possible water surface from which evaporation can take place. Most of the patented devices offer only a limited surface from which the water can evaporate.

What has been said in relation to class rooms applies equally to dormitory and living rooms. Almost uniformly throughout the Indian Service our buildings are overheated.

If you as a class room teacher find that a temperature of from 68 to 70 degrees in a class room is unpleasantly cool, you had better get a sweater or wear warmer under-wear. No teacher has the right to jeopardize the health of the children under her control, for the privilege of wearing a sheer shirt waist. The control of this matter is largely in the hands of the class room teacher. This control can be simplified where the mechanical equipment of the school is modernized, but even then no mechanical device can replace the constant watchfulness of the class room teacher. Let us have proper temperatures and better health.

—*Townsend and Beatty*

10. CLIMATE AND TUBERCULOSIS

LETTERS are frequently received in the Office requesting approval for enrollment of Indian pupils threatened with tuberculosis at one or other of our southwestern schools. The dry climate of southern Arizona and New Mexico was years ago recognized as a favorable environment in which to arrest the inroads of tuberculosis. Many people of all races flocked to these states in search of a renewed lease on life. The dry air and golden sunshine of these states rewarded with a lengthened life span many of those who sought them out early enough in their fight with tuberculosis. Many who went to the southwest believing in miracles found that nature is no miracle worker where the disease, through neglect, had become too far advanced. The cures which nature wrought in these southwestern beauty spots have been well advertised. As a result, the impression still persists that those who suffer from tuberculosis should seek one of these southwestern states. This is not necessarily true.

Those with the innate strength to recover will, of course, find Arizona and New Mexico a pleasant and a favorable area for recovery, but physicians have discovered that the *price of recovery* in this mild and dry climate *is the necessity to continue living there*. Many northerners prefer the north and wish to return. Many others from outside of these states find it necessary to return to their homes in order to resume the ordered process of earning a living. Therefore, a resort to the southwest for arresting tuberculosis can only be recommended for those who will find it possible to live there the rest of their lives. This constitutes no misfortune for the average resident of our northern states.

Mother Nature is a good physician when given an even break, and it has been found that when a patient suffering in the early stages of tuberculosis will follow the needful regimen of rest, food, and care, the disease can be arrested in his home state almost as rapidly as in the southwest, and that thereafter he can continue to live a reasonably active life in his accustomed climate without suffering a relapse.

What is true about the population at large is equally true with regard to Indian youngsters. If their future lives are likely to be lived in the northern states, their resistance to tuberculosis had best be built up in these same areas. For that reason many well known tuberculosis sanitariums have been built in the mountains of the northern states. It must not be forgotten that some of the most famous tuberculosis hospitals of Europe are to be found in the Alps.

As has been said before, children who are undernourished, and show signs of susceptibility to tuberculosis need rest, good food, and freedom from physical strain. Such a regimen may be arranged at any Indian Service boarding school for particular children in need of this type of treatment. The final arbiter in all cases must, of course be a physician who is an expert with tuberculosis.

8.

PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH GUIDANCE

1. ANALYZE EXPERIENCE

HOW can better guidance be furnished the small percentage of Indian students who go on to advanced educational training after high school? Despite the fact that the larger number who are and should be seeking a way of life on reservations should and sometimes do receive guidance adapted to their problem, there nevertheless remains a small group of from 1 to 4 per cent who seek further education and who must also be counseled. The guidance furnished this latter group is often complicated by a lack of sufficient information and by unrealistic attitudes on the part of teachers. The vocational surveys* recently completed indicate trends, but individual needs still require interpretation and study.

One reservation, through a representative loan committee and ample records, may be helping all the faculty to a better guidance program, while in another situation the short-sighted and ill-founded notions of a few individuals may have altogether too much influence on a student's decision to take up advanced work. Where careful records are kept year after year and where the whole education staff has an opportunity to familiarize itself with the records, guidance to students is based on the experience gathered through the years and on the judgment of a group. On the other hand, guidance may be rather ill-founded where advice as to advanced training is left largely to individual faculty members; where records are not kept; and where, consequently, a teacher may be rather hazy this year about what happened to students last year and the year before.

Since ill-founded, unrealistic guidance is influencing students to seek advanced training who later quit school before completion of a college course, it seems worthwhile to analyze the reasons leading to this bad guidance. There appears to be a group of Indian teachers who talk or think in this fashion: "I left the home environment (reservation), took advanced training, and am successful, therefore every Indian student should do the same." This group has its counterpart among White teachers, many of whom finding nothing which they view as desirable in reservation life, counsel children to break away from it all and advise a college education as a means to this end. Individual interests and abilities are allowed to figure very little in the thinking of either group. There is even a small number of teachers, who unconsciously no doubt, demand that students vicariously fulfill the ambitions they themselves have been unable to achieve. Students who have been thus unwisely influenced are finally left with a sense of failure and fall into negative attitudes. "The faculty adviser who insists that a student is 'too good' to return to the reservation, . . . who looks, perhaps unconsciously, with scorn upon Indian values and attempts to implant his own White notions of success, who makes the student dissatisfied with every element of his Indian life without offering a way out that is possible of achievement, simply builds a gulf between the student and his people and leaves him in some no-man's land, neither an Indian nor a White."*

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*Socio-economic surveys have been made of Pine Ridge, Sherman, Phoenix and Oklahoma. See Indian Education Numbers 31 and 32 for Pine Ridge Vocational survey; Number 41 for Sherman-California survey; Supplement to Number 48 for Phoenix-Arizona survey.

A number of case studies made by a student loan committee on one reservation give evidence that such records may influence toward more wise and ordered choice. For example:

1. Johnny Armstrong** who was rated an able student, went to the state university and dropped out after a few months because "the students and faculty did not like me." Analysis indicated that Johnny expected to borrow clothing and even towels from his dormitory mates and to have his assignments all outlined for him by the instructor. He did not complete his assignments without special urging. He had very little idea of contributing his share, without suggestion, to the give and take of dormitory life or to the class projects being developed by his instructors or fellow students. Adverse criticism instead of helping him to do better the next day, rather led him to retreat and give up.

2. Rollo Peters was interested in art and several of his teachers rather unthinkingly praised his art work and encouraged him to make art his career. It was not until the end of his senior year that examination of his work by a visiting art teacher revealed that Rollo copied all his drawings and that even though he had some talent as a draftsman, there were other students who had as much ability, and in addition could originate. No school of art would accept Rollo. His reaction, with some justification it must be admitted, was to give up worthwhile activity of all kinds. He does not even contribute by doing his share of the chores at his father's home.

3. Glenn Waters went to a state teachers college; stayed a year; made failures in various subjects; and finally left to become a salesman. After a few months he gave up this job and returned to the reservation. Glenn was judged able, with a good command of English, and was given a job on the reservation. After a few months, however, he failed to report regularly for work and was irresponsible in his attitude. Apparently, Glenn would do fairly well the parts of his job he liked, but was irked by any need to carry responsibility for what he was not especially interested in.

4. Two other individuals at the same school were passed by the loan committee and failed to make good during their first year. One of these students did not even attend classes in the institution he was supposed to be attending, a fact learned very late in the term by his reservation school.

5. Jerry Corvain entered an institution for advanced training largely on his own initiative. His transcript of credits was issued by a clerk, substituting for the principal during the summer, and was in consequence inaccurately described and posted. Jerry was given a lower rating at his new school than he was entitled to, without his old school being any the wiser. His choice of subjects, likewise, had little to do with his future plans. The need here was that some adviser in the new situation report back to his first school.

All of these cases coming to the attention of a loan committee in a two year period had a very decided effect in several ways. *First,* the loan committee, and through them the associated faculty, became convinced that some students ill-fitted for advanced training were being over-stimulated by individual teachers to spend money on training for which they had no real aptitude or well-founded desire. *Second,* the faculty group decided that investigation of students' aptitudes was not made early enough in their school career. *Third,* it seemed evident that students, especially those desiring advanced training, needed to become accustomed to voluntary and varied responses in class. Simply handing in a daily assignment given out by the teachers was not an indication of fitness for advanced training. Students need to become accustomed to carrying on work in addition to the usual oral and written responses. They should do some reading on their own initiative, and as a result contribute some special information, experiment or collection to the group. *Fourth,* in the colleges and other institutions where Indian students seek advanced training there should be some one instructor willing to act as adviser and counselor to Indian students.

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*McCaskill, J. C.—Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine, Jan. 1940.

**This name and others similarly used are fictitious.

These conclusions on the part of the loan committee undoubtedly influenced the whole faculty, in their later advice to students seeking advanced training. Such study contrasts sharply with reservations where the loan committee does not function very regularly, and where the same poor guidance continues from year to year. There are no cumulative records; no reports by the loan committee to the faculty; and, consequently, there is little discussion to develop faculty opinion.

In spite of greatly improved guidance by the representative loan committee, some students who go to advanced schools will fail. Nevertheless, the evidence seems to indicate that the number of such failures can be reduced where a loan committee functions as a part of the education program. Indications are that all students need to know and understand reservation conditions and what each, as an individual, can do in the reservation situation, because even those apparently fitted and desirous of advanced training may finally return to the reservation. Undoubtedly, more careful planning may greatly reduce the waste of time and money by Indian young people, which now occurs.—*Hulsizer*

2. GUIDANCE COMMITTEE

THE selection of students to receive loans for higher education has been placed in the hands of a student loan committee on most reservations. This committee usually consists of representatives of the reservation school personnel and of leading Indians. Effective judgment regarding eligibility for a federal loan requires more than passing information about the candidates. To meet this larger challenge it would appear that a much broader program of educational guidance based on more complete information about the student should be considered.

On reservations where a full program of education is offered in federal schools consideration might well be given to the creation of a permanent committee on educational guidance, composed of the reservation principal, the high school principal (when these are not one and the same), representatives of the faculty with both academic and vocational backgrounds, and Indian leaders with understanding of the reservation, its people and its opportunities. Such a committee might with advantage recognize its job as a twelve month assignment of understanding and guiding youth in the light of realities. To do so adequately, it must be equipped with evidence about the students still in school, and those who have already graduated.

Useful records must be cumulative—gathering together over a period of years pertinent information about each student, based on instances of his significant behavior, rather than solely on personal impressions without supporting evidence.

Some schools already have cumulative records of students for several years. Perhaps, in addition to present records, special paragraphs designed to help the guidance committee should be kept in a student record folder. These comments by the student or teacher should be made each year and from the seventh year onward with especial care. Such records should be as largely as possible objective.

For example, the student has shown some initiative and skill in working with machinery, electricity and the like. He has done what was assigned him with efficiency or he has done more than the work required, instances being cited.

Or the student has made sketches drawings or paintings. He has shown initiative and originality. He has read considerably in order to make his work authentic.

Or this student is a wide reader. He has a good command of English which he employs in discussion (specify). He has made reports on various socio-economic problems of the region (specify) which show better than average insight into the problems of the people involved.

Or this student is interested in livestock and agriculture. He has worked at home or at school during the summer with the herd, in gardens, or grain fields (specify).

The Guidance Committee should receive a list of the students in the ninth year and after studying their records should make written comments to the school principals as to possible activities which would benefit the students. For example, if a student wants to be a master machinist, it may be possible to arrange work during the school year and in the summer in suitable situations such as the agency garage or power-house, or in comparable non-reservation situations. Reports of this work should be acquired by the Guidance Committee and filed in the student's folder.

During the eleventh and twelfth years, the student should receive advice as to the type of job, the type of further training, or on the development and use of his own land holdings. Even where the availability of loans, benefits, or judgment moneys makes it feasible, students should be encouraged to take only such training as they appear to be fitted to use wisely. The question must be continually asked, How will this student benefit by this training? Will such training enable him to hold the jobs which will be open to him? Will such training unfit him for the type of work which he will have to do and in which he is at present interested? Is this student fitted to be a mechanical engineer or a master machinist? Should this student take an art course designed to prepare an art teacher or should he take art work designed to prepare a house painter or decorator?

It may be that the committee and student will be undecided on some of these points until the student has taken up some work additional to that given in Federal Indian schools. It is doubtful if students who want to study law or medicine should be encouraged to borrow money to take their pre-medical and pre-law college courses. If real interest and ability for such training exist, cash and work scholarships often may be arranged. Such students according to the law of probability will not number more than a fraction of 1 per cent of their age group, in any area.

The Guidance Committee should endeavor to secure a local adviser at the institution which the student enters. This may be an assistant dean, a professor, or instructor, as the case may be.

The student from a Federal Indian school will not ordinarily take the initiative in establishing relationships with dean, principal, or other faculty member. It is believed, however, that if someone is especially designated to advise, students will avail themselves of such opportunities. The local adviser may communicate from time to time with the Reservation Guidance Committee and in this way enable this committee to continue its service to students. Certainly, a student should not be encouraged to continue to borrow money or to spend his capital on a second year of study if more than one set of advisers, who have studied his case sympathetically, see no possibility of increased earnings to pay back his loan. For example, a student should have outstanding qualifications for some position other than one paying forty-five dollars a month if he is to be encouraged to borrow $1500 for his education.

Above all, the Guidance Committee should give the student frank statements of its viewpoint from time to time. Again and again students say that teachers have told them that if they would go to a higher school and study they would get such and such positions at such and such rates of pay. Often the teacher did not follow up, and at the end of a year of demonstrated inepititude gave no further advice on the basis of work done in the new school. Such advice during and at the end of the first year is important. Where there is doubt, two years of junior college may help to resolve such doubt. When students have reached the age of twenty or twenty-one, considerable aptitude, interest and solidity of character are required to justify encouragement in further outlay for advanced education. Socio-economic studies* show that reservation opportunities rather than outside jobs require the most emphasis. Character and desire may mean more than brilliance but all the factors must be carefully evaluated.

As has been indicated, recurring advice and follow-up are an important function of the Guidance Committee. For this reason regular stated meetings, as well as those especially called, should characterize the Guidance Committee's functioning. A calendar for regular monthly meetings of one such committee was as follows: August: Survey all students in twelfth year for types of special out of class work to be assigned during the school year. The study of previous reccords should simplify this. At this meeting, too, some consideration of junior-senior high-school schedules occurred.

At a second meeting in September senior and junior students whose plans presented special problems were interviewed. An October meeting was devoted to students below the eleventh year and to students on the reservation. November: reports from students who are in college and vocational schools. December: loans and judgment money recommendations. An executive committee prepared a statement of the special problems to be considered at each of the meetings held throughout the year. Minutes, or summaries of such meetings, prepared by a member secretary may with the approval of the principal and superintendent be sent through the area Superintendent of Education to the educational loan desk in the central office. Increased understanding in the handling of these problems will only occur through knowledge of the way in which school graduates adjust to life out of school. And only through such information can a faculty measure the success of its teaching and guidance.

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*See: Pine Ridge, Sherman-California, and Phoenix-Arizona Vocational surveys in issues 31, 32, 41 and 48 of Indian Education.

—*Hulsizer*

3. ANECDOTAL RECORD

HUMAN judgment is not very dependable. Impressions are formed on superficial evidence and once formed are hard to change. Occasional events which confirm our opinions are remembered longer than much more frequent happenings which contradict them. Without intention to be unfair we therefore continuously under-rate people we don't like and over-rate people whom we think ought to be good. Such confusion isn't fair to the people affected—but is is due to the fact that most of us fail to make a continuing series of notes which actually record instances of behavior which typify the individual.

For example if one has the impression that a pupil or employee is irresponsible about meeting engagements or responsibilities, a sure way to find out if the impression is justified would be to have a file folder on the individual and drop into it a brief dated note recording the way he took care of each responsibility laid upon him. After six months or a year, a review of the slips would furnish concrete evidence of what was actually taking place. The record might show that obligations were not being met; it might show that the greater part of the time obligations were met, but that particularly important obligations were sometimes neglected—so that the annoyance caused by these occasional instances unduly influenced our reactions; or we might find that our disappointment grew out of our own failure to be sufficiently specific in giving directions.

In any case the accumulated evidence would place us in a position to critcize the individual on the basis of actual instances. If incompetence was shown, the bases for dismissal on charges would have been carefully laid; if occasional carelessness by the employee was shown, instances are at hand to support a constructive criticism which might bring into consciousness a fault of which the individual was unaware; and if the fault turns out to be ours, we have the evidence to justify greater carefulness on our own part in the future.

In general terms, the type of note taking which has been described is often referred to as an anecdotal record, for it consists of a series of anecdotes or actual instances from which a behavior pattern can be inferred. It is highly recommended for personnel records and may also be a great value for a teacher or adviser in keeping track of children's academic performance or personal behavior. It will furnish an excellent basis for guidance if the notes are sufficiently numerous and cover enough areas of the pupil's experience.

An accurate measure of the effectiveness of civic instruction or ethical guidance, can only be obtained through systematic observation of unsupervised activities. Even the best of us are likely to trim our sails when we believe ourselves under observation, so it isn't how a class behaves while the teacher is on the job that is the measure of his teaching effectiveness—it is how they behave when the teacher steps out of the room—or when they are dismissed from school. This is not to suggest the imposition of a system of control over the pupil's free time, but to point out that careful observation of such behavior, and an honest recording of typical instances may furnish a fair and reasonable evaluation of the results we are getting in building a spirit of fair play, common honesty, generosity, and other desirable traits, in daily practice.

So the anecdotal record may be used two ways—(1) To build an actual picture, based on recorded instances of individual behavior, of the kind of person an individual really is. (2) To find out, from such a record of instances of unsupervised behavior, whether we are building in indivduals the inner controls to make desirable conduct habitual rather than securing hypocritical conformity under restraint and wild disregard for proprieties the rest of the time.

For a guidance committee, picking candidates for educational loans or advising students as to future objectives, an anecdotal record is invaluable.

4. WHAT PRICE FACULTY APPROVAL?

EDWARD was a leader. He was President of his class. Recitations with Edward present were never dull. He was one of those annoying people who would utter a cynical wise-crack just when the rest of the class seemed ready to accept the teacher's doubtful judgment of some contested point. He offered to argue with his classmates or teacher at the slightest excuse. He was active, and changed his seat now and then—and his frequent remarks to those nearest him may have been about the lesson—but the teacher suspected otherwise.

Though Edward did frequently compete with the teacher for the attention of those nearest him, he never was rowdy. Classes with Edward in them could polish off a good deal of work. His non-conformist questions were challenging. It took an intelligent scholar to answer them. If Edward were in charge of a committee, a good report could be expected. However, the committee might wind up by asking if there were any truth in what the books said, because Edward had observed something entirely different. All of this might make Edward appear to be promising material for a college to work over. When he asked for a student loan—what happened?

He didn't get it! Why? Let us consider the weighty opinions of his teachers—"Edward is bright but he's always trying to act 'smart'." "If he were sent to college, he might be fresh to the professors." "He needs to learn to be more respectful to his teachers." "Edward needs a good lesson." So the Fates in their infinite wisdom sit in judgment on mere man.

What has happened to Edward? He has been digging ditches. On the first of the month he was made a foreman. A gang with Edward in it always turns out a good deal of work. While he is full of wise-cracks, he is not a kicker.

He is young but he will be a popular foreman. The gang he is in will always follow Edward, even though they may have another boss—on paper. He will be a good man to have on your side of an argument.

Certainly, it is a good thing for young men to begin at the bottom and work up. But whether ditch digging or even being a boss of ditch diggers was the best investment of this year of Edward's life, is another question. If education really means search for truth, and if the future of Democracy depends on the degree to which truth is allowed to prevail—one may doubt the wisdom of the Fates, and be a little impatient with the smugness of their reasoning.

Edward is born to lead. The more *real* education Edward has, the more chance there is that he may lead wisely.—*Hulsizer*

5. ENURESIS

CHILDREN who are chronic bedwetters constitute one of the most stubborn problems with which our boarding schools have to deal. Most children are able to control themselves during the day time but the wetting of the bed is a fairly common problem.

It is important that this not be looked upon as a passing annoyance. Bed wetting is responsible for much unhappiness and is often a symptom of neurotic tendencies or perhaps a forerunner of difficult social relations with other chldren. While it is true that many of the victims of enuresis have never been trained, in general it is not to be considered as merely "poor training" but rather as symptomatic of general unhappiness and maladjustment, or else a physical condition calling for treatment by a physician.

Fatigue, unhappiness, lack of security, the necessity for getting attention, are all very closely related to enuresis. The child who wets the bed does not do so because he does not care but because he cares too much. He goes to bed fearing it will happen, tense and anxious, only to wake up and find that once again he has failed. This consciousness of failure becomes more or less of an obsession, leading to general depression and chronic unhappiness. There is, of course, an occasional child, very often of low intelligence, debased, or neglected, who really does not care and is content to lie in a wet bed. These are the exceptions, however, and most children are really anxious to overcome the bad habit.

In the treatment of enuresis, a word or two should be said with regard to what not to do. Do not place such children in a specially designated room or otherwise publicly announce their difficulty. Do not ridicule. Do not punish. Publicity, ridicule, and harsh treatment only provoke ill effects and usually result in an increase in the frequency of occurrence.

A thorough physical examination by a competent physician should be the first step in any treatment, although most children who are bedwetters are so purely from habit, and have nothing wrong with them physically. It is necessary, however, to be sure that there is no physical basis for the behavior before proceeding with attempts at treatment. The physical examination should look not only for trouble in the organs primarily involved, but should look also for ailments leading to unusual fatigue. Fatigue and excitement are predisposing factors, and advisers should see to it that children afflicted with enuresis have a program that is not too stimulating or exciting, and which provides abundant opportunity for rest.

The physician may wish to prescribe belladonna in large doses but this usually provides only temporary relief unless the physician can arouse confidence in the child by suggesting that this will prove a permanent cure. Correcting an imbalance of endocrine secretions proves effective some times.

The major object in treatments is by some means to restore the child's self-confidence. This is essential. Often all that is necessary is that some individual in whom the child has implicit confidence merely suggest to him that he *can* conquer the habit; that he *can* go through the night dry.

The common practice of waking children up at night depends for its effect entirely upon the confidence the person is able to arouse in the child. If an adult who is confident of his power to help and cure the child will make an attempt by several trips of inspection to find out what time the wetting occurs, and then at this critical hour take him and thoroughly awaken him on his visit to the bathroom, and actually impart his confidence to the child, a cure is likely to be the result. A pessimistic person is worse than useless.

If the adviser will work carefully with the child to see that he has a program not too stimulating, that he has opportunity for rest, that he does not have liquids after five o'clock in the afternoon,a very minimum of liquids at supper, and that his diet avoids highly seasoned foods especially salty ones, and—most important of all—if he will help the child to avoid situations in which shame, ridicule, depression, inferiority, and the like occur, he will presently find that the child will awake one morning with a dry bed. The vicious circle will have been broken. Then is the time to begin earnest work on the case. Put attention on the dry night. Give personal confidential praise for the achievement. Make the child understand that what he has once done he can do again. Make the experience of success as significant as possible. Some times a little device of a confidential calendar with a star for each dry night and a reward of some kind for so many stars proves effective. Changing bedrooms frequently, giving the child freedom for a night or two in new surroundings, is also helpful. If separate bedrooms are available, the child should be placed in one of these rather than in the open dormitory. But in all of this, public attention should be avoided.

Finally, it should be recognized that enuresis will respond to treatment only as there is general improvement in the child's behavior and attitudes. Experiences of success must be substituted for feelings of inferiority and shame. Every effort must be made to make the child as happy as possible. The child needs first of all happiness rather than discipline; security rather than fear; confidence rather than anxiety. Treatment for enuresis should begin the day the child enters school, or the day he first wets the bed. While the cooperation of the child must be secured and direct responsibilty for the cure must rest upon his shoulders, it is easy to make too much of the problem, and consequently increase the tension and lack of confidence rather than the opposite.

Each case needs to be studied carefully and an individual program planned for each child. If the physician has taken care of any physical cause or has declared there is none, it becomes the job of the adviser or other person living in the dormitory to work with the child in effecting a cure. He must examine the child's school program to see whether he is having demands made upon him which he cannot meet and to secure such modifications as will permit the child to have experiences of success. He must inquire into his social relations, into his home background, to discover points of tension and maladjustment. He must present to the child all the motives possible for getting over the habit, at the same time constantly suggesting that it is perfectly possible for him to overcome it.

The Children's Bureau has published a little leaflet on the subject of Enuresis which advisers and physicians may find helpful. In addition, most good books on mental hygiene give helpful suggestions.

The following may be found in some school libraries or may be obtained from the state librarian:

Cameron—*The Nervous Child*

Shaffer—*The Psychology of Adjustment*

Baker and Traphagen—*The Diagnosis and Treatment of Problems of Children*

Wallin—*Personality Maladjustment and Mental Hygiene.*

—*McCaskill*

6. BOYS AND GIRLS ADVISERS

THE proverbial chain is no stronger than its weakest link. There are, nevertheless, points on a chain where the greatest rub comes and where the chain breaks first unless these points are especially reinforced. Automobile tire chains are notorious for their tendency to break on the cross chains—they take the wear. In our boarding schools the Advisers are much in the position of the cross chains—they take the rub and the wear. Long after teachers have discharged their responsibilities for the day, advisers are still on the job looking after the welfare of the children. Theirs is a twenty-four-hour work day and a seven-day week. As with chains, they wear through with the constant rub, unless reinforced.

The Adviser assumes an increasingly important role in our schools as our educational program is conceived in terms of life experience. The Adviser deals with students —not in the artificiality of the class room with pedagogical devices of grades, textbooks, examinations, and promotions—but in the midst of real and continuous experiences of every-day life.

First of all he has responsibility for the physical care of students. In the larger schools he will share it with the matron. This responsibility includes not only seeing that children have a decent dormitory in which to live and clean clothes and regular baths and wholesome food, but that they get needed medical care and adequate rest and play.

He must see to it that students do not participate in sports too strenuous for their health, that everyone who goes out for varsity competition has a complete medical examination including X-ray of the chest.

It is his responsibility to see that the dormitory is kept clean and is made as homelike as possible, that the toilets are clean and in order, that the bareness of the walls are broken by a few pictures, and that a good morale is developed amongst the students while occupying their living quarters.

Much of this care of the dormitory can be delegated to students once they have had the satisfaction of living in clean surroundings. The success of an Adviser hinges to a considerable extent on his ability to organize this routine so that it is accomplished easily and efficiently with a minimum of attention and effort on the Adviser's part. Advisers must somehow with the help of the Principal or Superintendent materially reduce the size of the working week, lessen the load of routine, and devote a greater percentage of their time to more creative tasks.

In the second place the Adviser must see that children have those experiences that promote emotional development. Children have emotional needs that are just as real as physical needs. Food and water are not more essential to life than affection and security. We supply our need for food at regular intervals, and for this reason become immediately conscious of hunger when this need is not met. We do not supply ourselves with security three times a day, and therefore are not conscious of insecurity when this need goes unmet. Children who grow up within the shelter of home and happy family life are not likely to feel the gnawing of insecurity, provided they have the abilities to meet the demands life makes upon them. Children who have been robbed of home life and placed in the congregate care of an institution suffer much in this respect. Fortunate is the child in the boarding school who has an Adviser who possesses insight into the emotional life of the children and skill in using teachers and other employees to provide them with a fair amount of love and affection, adventure, and other emotional experience that lead to well being, poise, and maturity.

In the third place the Adviser shares with others the responsibility for seeing that the child gets the sort of an education that he needs. It must be an education that acquaints him with the world in which he lives —the physical world, the social world, the economic world. It must acquaint the child with himself—his capacities his limitations, his opportunities, his needs.

The Adviser's share of this responsibility has more specifically to do with those aspects of the educational program which are concerned with the adjustment of the child; getting him enrolled in the right classes, providing him with vocational information, helping him to make important decisions, helping him to understand himself. His techniques in carrying out this part of the educational program are largely those of individual or group counseling.

Too often such counselling has degenerated into heart-to-heart talks with the child after he has gotten into trouble by violating some convention of society. These talks as a rule accomplish little. They neither get at the causes of the misbehavior, nor do they inspire the child to more constructive outlets for his emotional blockings. Another bad feature of individual counselling as now practiced by Advisers is that most of it occurs during out-of-school hours. After school is out an Adviser should be free to supervise play and recreational activities, to promote better home life, to be available to those who wish to bring their problems to him. He cannot possibly give his undivided attention to scheduled interviews in the midst of such activities. If individual counseling is worth doing, it is worth doing systematically. Administrative officers should work out with Advisers plans whereby students, one at a time, may be excused from class work and report for scheduled interviews.

If such counseling is to be effective it is necessary that cumulative records be kept. The efficiency of these depend upon the extent to which they are faithfully kept and the extent to which the Adviser can secure the cooperation of the entire staff in contributing information.

Group counseling takes a variety of forms, from a class in the study of occupations to a discussion group in social and economic problems. Advisers increasingly are finding informal discussion groups very helpful.

The Adviser also shares the responsibility for providing the child with so-called cultural experiences — experiences in music, dramatics, arts, crafts; and with recreational experiences to be found in free play and in group activities. He shares in carrying on the extra-curricular activities.

The Adviser is no longer the disciplinarian of the school. He represents friendship— not authority in his dealing with students. He takes the lead in discovering maladjusted children, in applying intelligent and curative methods to them, and in making the school program meaningful to each student.

—*McCaskill*

9.

HUMANIZING INSTITUTIONAL LIVING

1. LEARNING THROUGH LIVING

THE great curse of American schooling, is our apparent determination to separate the organized processes of education from life itself. Schools concern themselves with the figment of things, while reality surrounds them at every point. Yet learning itself is effective in direct proportion to its functional and purposeful relation to life. The organization of the average Indian Service boarding school is an excellent example in point. Despite the fact that we have assumed as one of our fundamental objectives the preparation of boys and girls for worthy home membership, and employ specialists trained in home economics education as teachers, we disregard all of our teaching in handling the actual living of our young people.

The physical construction of most of our older plants may be blamed for many of our mistakes but that handicap can not excuse us for perpetuating the errors. New buildings are being built which offer greater facilities for realism in living—many of the older buildings may be used more intelligently. First of all it is important to remember that the way in which children actually are helped to live, will influence their future lives much more than anything that can be said in a classroom about living.

One of the most important facts for us to remember, is that homes contain men and women. A good home usually contains children also, but they are likely to be adjusted into a home after it has been made. In the making of a home, husband and wife both play a part. Yet in most of our schools, we limit our home making classes to girls, attempting to develop in them a desire for the sanitary, the efficient and the dainty. Many times while such tastes are being cultivated on one side of the campus, the boys on the other side are being allowed to remain dirty, disorderly and crude, in their living arrangements.

This disparity is often excused on the ground that girls are naturally neat, while boys are not. The same excuse is used to justify dirty toilets, the placing of toilet paper in a central location, rather than with the individual toilets, untidy showers, recreation spaces equipped with a few broken chairs or benches, and vast barn-like sleeping barracks without individual privacy. Anything better was assumed to be wasted on an unappreciative audience. It has been taken for granted that Indian children, and especially Indian boys would neither understand nor care for anything better.

Fortunately some courageous soul who really understood children, built and equipped such buildings as the new girls' and boys' dormitories at Chilocco, the new boys' unit dormitories at Sequoyah, the new girls' buildings at Pine Ridge. And in charge of these buildings were placed individuals who possessed high standards of living themselves, and who expected the youngsters to appreciate and share these higher standards. All that is needed to knock the older fiction in the head is a visit to these buildings, which are housing typical, not selected, children.

The success of these buildings, has raised the standard of dormitory design, and buildings which are even more adaptable to clean and homelike living have been recently completed. Unit dormitories have been opened at Carson, Cheyenne River, and Seneca, which follow closely the Sequoyah pattern. Homelike buildings like those at Chilocco have been erected at Fort Apache. And new 'cottage' types, planned in terms of real home living have been built at Standing Rock, Fort Berthold, Crow Creek, Tongue River, Hopi, Kiowa and Cheyenne and Arapaho.

Every step toward realistic use of experience to promote desirable learning requires more thought and effort on the part of the teaching staff. A classroom lesson may be taught with an open book, and a teacher just one jump ahead of the children. It won't be a very good lesson—but it will fill the time. But learning that grows out of thoughtful and considerate living together takes time and effort in much greater degree. Not all of our teachers will welcome these greater demands upon them, and we hope that as these newer programs develop, those who wish to avoid the greater responsibility will frankly say so, and ask to be transferred to institutions of the older type—of which there will continue to be many in the Service. Many of our teachers, however, sense the present lack of realistic living, and long for something more human and functional. The newer aspects of dormitory life will be described in detail in following articles. The Indian Service will welcome requests from staff members who would like to be given the opportunity to work under the conditions to be described.

2. MAKE A HOUSE A HOME

A BOARDING school is a home for all its students during the time when they must live there. Many of our boarding schools are the only homes for a large number of their students who have lost their own parents and who have no one else to turn to. It is the need of these children for understanding, affection, and love which has been back of the cottage dormitory plan in the Indian Service. This plan aims to reduce the number of children under the supervision of a single individual and build at the same time a series of family relationships for those students occupying the cottage units. But for many years to come, there will be cottage dormitories in only a relatively small number of boarding schools. Elsewhere the living accommodations vary from the newer buildings at Haskell or Chilocco where children may enjoy the privacy of two in a room, to the bare barracks of some of our southwestern reservation schools where 100 or more children live in a single, large room without any opportunity for personal privacy.

With less desirable physical surroundings, the responsibility falls on advisers and matrons in these older plants to develop a homelike atmosphere against difficult odds. However, much can be done to improve the physical conditions as well as to enrich the social life. In the Manual for Indian Schools (1941) attention is called to these needs in the following paragraphs:

"So far as present structures will permit, dormitories of the Indian Service shall be made attractive and homelike, they shall be kept clean and freshly painted (in accordance with color schemes recommended by the office) and shall be equipped with comfortable furniture and rugs, pictures, and other suitable furnishings. Opportunities should be given within the dormitories for students to relax and live an individual life, rather than being regarded constantly as members of a group. Individual lockers or other facilities should be provided so that each child may have a place of his own in which to keep his personal belongings. The students should be given every opportunity to cooperate in the planning of their dormitory life and recreational activities.

"The development of wholesome indoor recreation in the dormitories in addition to outdoor play and athletics shall be the responsibility of the adult sponsors. Necessary arrangements may be made with the school library so that books and magazines may be available in the dormitory living room. Provisions shall be made for group games and activities which will furnish opportunities for students to exercise leadership and learn followership."

Consider the questions of physical cleanliness and attractive appearance. Many of our dormitory bedrooms and living rooms badly need repainting. Walls need to be replastered or patched, floors need to be sanded, and then treated with a permanent wood filler that will avoid the use of oil and other dirt catchers. Old iron beds can be repainted in attractive colors, pictures can be hung on the walls, and attractive bed spreads can enliven the drab monotony of these immense barracks. Today it is a far cry from some of the older rooms which have been tastefully refitted, to some schools where beds still are made without even a sheet to protect the blankets from dust and dirt.

Adequate bed linens will be found on the annual estimate. Exterior covers may be simply an additional white sheet, unbleached muslin appliqued with bright fast colored muslin in original designs, or colored spreads of seersucker, dimity, or other materials which will be found listed. Framed color reproductions of worthwhile pictures also will be found on the annual estimate, and have been distributed gratuitously from the Office to a large number of schools.

Individual children might well be permitted a certain amount of personal ingenuity in adding individuality and attractiveness to the area which they themselves occupy. Many times in the school shop a simple chest of drawers or locker can be built which could be placed between the many beds in rooms of this kind which would give storage space free from dirt and dust, with a degree of privacy not now possessed by many of these students. Built-in dressers and lockers of this type are standard equipment in dormitories erected by the Education Division between 1938 and 1942 and construction details for them will be gladly furnished by the Office in cases where school shops are willing to undertake their construction. Enlist the interest and concern of the students themselves in making their school quarters a home in a much more realistic sense than is now frequently the case.

* * *

Plans should be made to have a bookshelf for recreational reading in each dormitory. In many of the distributions of extra books by the Office, additional copies were included to provide a nucleus for such dormitory reading shelves.

3. COTTAGE DORMITORIES

1. A POSSIBILITY

A BOARDING school cannot be thought of exclusively in terms of class room instruction. It assumes complete responsibility for the life of the child for twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Therefore every activity of the school must be seen in terms of the influence which it exerts in moulding the life of the child. Taken from home where he would normally be surrounded by the love and affection of his family, the boarding school child finds himself in an institution from which such personal interest is usually lacking. From surroundings of understanding and security he has been transferred to a strange environment directed by people who know little of the intimate customs of his home, and many of whom are determined to replace those customs with alien ones. Is it surprising that insecurity, homesickness and often fear are dominant emotional reactions of the child?

Fed in great dining halls with hundreds of other equally unadjusted children; frequently housed in great barren dormitories without a box of his own to hold the prized possessions of childhood; sometimes one of many children in the charge of a well meaning but untrained matron; often there was little in civilized White life as seen by the boarding school child, which could compare with the friendliness, the intimacy, the love which was present in even the poorest appearing Indian home.

Looked at with White eyes accustomed to plastered walls and hardwood floors, bathtubs and sanitary toilets, running water, kitchen sinks and central heating, the wickiup, the hogan, the tipi or the igloo may appear to be a home with little to commend it. Remembered as the center of family life, with kindly relatives, fresh air, familiar smells of cooking and fragrant wood smoke, and the thousand and one meaningful experiences of childhood, the Indian home is as dear to the heart of its inmate as the farmer's ranchhouse, the brownstone front, the cottage on the side street, of the seventh floor apartment, is to the White child. Time and familiarity with the "advantages" of civilization, are necessary before their desirability become apparent. In many of the older schools of the Indian Service these advantages are more imagined than real. It is easy to believe that the average Indian home possesses advantages over several schools which are still in use.

There are real reasons, however, for believing that White culture may have something to teach the Indian about housing. Whether he should spend more time inside of a house than his ancestors did, is a question—but from the standpoint of health and sanitation, modern science has something to offer. One can't generalize about it, for what is true about living quarters in southern Arizona, may not be true in North Dakota or Alaska. It may be believed, however, that familiarity with White ways will have several advantages. More and more, Indians will associate with Whites, and will be happier in this association if they are familiar with the ways of the Whites. Many conveniences which have been developed by the Whites are adaptable to the Indian home, and intelligently adopted may contribute to greater health as well as comfort.

Ideas of this kind entered into the planning of the cottage dormitories. Some of the plans for these schools will not apply generally throughout the service, for tribal customs must be respected in cases where they are at extreme variance with White patterns. The following factors were considered to be important in designing these new buildings.

1. Desirable habits are learned and persist only when the individual gains satisfaction from the experiences and feels uncomfortable when they are interrupted.

Therefore if the assumption is correct that cleanliness of person and clothing, sleeping in separate beds, opportunities for personal privacy, and ease and convenience in sanitary practices are desirable habits to acquire, the school living quarters should be designed to promote these habits. The traditional Englishman who demands his morning shower bath at the Equator or the North Pole exemplifies the force of such habits. People who refuse to use a common towel or public drinking cup, who feel aversion at the idea of trading chewing gum or tooth brushes, who prefer to sleep in separate beds and like moderate amounts of fresh air in their sleeping quarters, have probably acquired habits which will protect them from disease. Such habits are the outgrowth of understanding and continuous practise.

Facilities for bathing, toileting, caring for clothes and other personal belongings should be located conveniently near the sleeping rooms, and there should be enough of them to facilitate the practise of all of these desirable habits.

2. Housing children in small intimate groups promotes friendliness and a feeling of security; makes possible opportunities for personal privacy and encourages the acquisition of desirable personal living habits. Buildings should accomodate groups of not more than eighteen to twenty-five pupils. Sleeping quarters should be planned for two to four students per room.

3. The desirable elements of a family group should be simulated so far as possible. Boys and girls should therefore both be housed in the same building, unless tribal custom forbids the association of adolescents of opposite sex. The home should be under the care of husband and wife, if possible who in as many wholesome ways as possible should take the place of father and mother.

4. As many experiences of home living as possible should take place in the dormitory home, and should be shared by the children. Meals should be prepared in the home kitchen and served in the home dining room. Boys and girls should both share in planning, preparing and serving meals, and in the cleaning up afterward.

The care of the rooms, making of beds, cleaning and personal laundry should be shared by the children as part of home management, not as detail-chores. (Institutional laundry, such as sheets and table cloths, should be handled elsewhere and by hired help.)

5. Home recreational experiences should be encouraged, and a living room and play room included in the building—especially in areas with severe winter climate.

Recreational reading and the group enjoyment of literature might well be transferred from the English classroom to the living-room hearth, after supper. This would make for enjoyment and probably prevent the frequent marring of the experience by formalized analysis of the story, that English teachers unfortunately feel to be necessary in their classroom instruction.

4. COTTAGE DORMITORIES

2. DEVELOPING A PLAN

IN 1937 the Indian Service faced the necessity of constructing a limited amount of dormitory space to care for high school pupils from remote areas of the Standing Rock reservation, too far to be reached by bus lines from the central community high school being operated at Fort Yates. An examination of the possible development of these boarding needs indicated that the number of students to be accommodated would probably be less than one hundred. The need at the moment was for 40 beds with evidences that the number would increase as interest in high school education increased among the Standing Rock Sioux. About half of these students were boys and the other half girls.

Caring for a limited number of students of this type by the traditional Indian Service procedure of erecting separate dormitories, building a large common dining room and kitchen which would have to be planned in anticipation of future enrollments, and staffing the facilities with matrons, cooks and other similar employees, represented a cost out of all proportion to the services to be rendered. Furthermore, there had been a growing dissatisfaction with the impersonal handling of students as brought together in the older Indian Service boarding schools.

The Meriam Survey had called the attention of the Indian Service to the maladjustments and feelings of insecurity suffered by many children in the older schools. Social workers experienced in the congregate housing of children in various types of agencies had long condemned great barracks-like dormitories, with impersonal supervision by untrained matrons and other supervisory employees. Modern construction by agencies concerned with the welfare of children had stressed the privacy made possible by room groupings of two to four children, the greater convenience of bathing and toileting facilities located in the neighborhood of the bedrooms, and the value of planning structures so as to simulate insofar as possible the conditions of a good home.

The Indian Service had already responded somewhat to these newer standards in the planning of recent dormitories erected at Sequoyah in 1933, at Seneca in 1937, and at Cheyenne River in 1938. These newer buildings went further than the first modern structures erected after the Meriam report by decreasing the number of young people to be housed within a single dormitory unit. The newer buildings at Chilocco, Haskell, Fort Apache, and Santa Fe to mention a few, had recognized the desirability of dividing up the sleeping space into rooms housing two to six children, but the entire structure was designed to care for as many as 150 children under a single roof. This still left the matter of human relationships on a very impersonal basis. The first of the newer buildings therefore were developed for units of 30 children, several of which units might be grouped in a single structure, but each of which was self-contained. These unit dormitories provided rooms in which not more than four children were housed, bathing and toileting facilities were placed on the same floor with the sleeping rooms, and separate living and play rooms were provided for each group of 30 students. It was planned that each of these units should be under the supervision of some well trained staff member who could be counted upon to furnish a keen personal interest and a motherly atmosphere. The boys and girls, however, were still segregated and fed in large dining halls, rather than in family groups.

Beginning with this newer trend in Indian Service housing and making a careful study of the cottage plan as now in use in many orphan's homes and residential schools, the Education and Construction Divisions developed the first cottage dormitory plan for the Indian Service, which was erected at Standing Rock. The major objective was to provide opportunities for the young people to play a large part in the activities of the home, caring for their own rooms, preparing their own meals, washing their own intimate clothes, and in as many ways as possible making their residential experience at the school the best kind of training in home making which could be developed. It was determined to limit the number of pupils to be housed in a single building to 20. Economy in construction made it appear desirable to combine two such 20-pupil units under a single roof.

As the plan developed, a two-story building was decided upon with a full basement devoted mainly to play rooms and a laundry. The first floor was planned to supply an apartment for a married couple who would be expected to supervise the general management of the "family" and space was also provided for one or two single employees. A large living room was designed, a dining room to accomodate approximately 25 people, and a kitchen where meals for this number might be prepared. One section of the basement was set aside for sufficient refrigerating space to care for several whole beeves.

In carrying out the family plan it seemed desirable to house an approximately equal number of boys and girls under the same roof, separating their sleeping quarters effectively but inconspicuously. As the design progressed it was decided to group children four to a room which automatically resulted in an unequal division in quarters; three rooms on the second floor being reached by one stairway and caring for 12 students, two rooms being reached by the other stairway caring for 8 students.

Within the two dormitory units under a single roof, however, it is possible to take care of 20 students of each sex. In buildings of the Standing Rock type a toilet, lavatory, and shower are attached to each room. Large storage closets are provided at various points in the building and built-in closets and bureaus are included in each room. One closet approximately 15 x 18 inches and seven feet high, was provided for each student. The built-in bureau contained one large drawer and one small drawer for each student in the room and had a built-in mirror above it. Thus the beds, chairs, and table were the only movable pieces of furniture.

Because the Dakota area is dusty and given to high wind storms, every effort was made to minimize horizontal moldings and similar dust catchers. It is intended that window curtains, doilies, and similar dust catching fabrics be avoided. Therefore, great pains have been taken to select a color scheme which will give each room much of the warmth and homelike quality usually sought from draperies. All doors and window sashes are painted a light gray throughout the buildings. Walls are tinted light colors and the baseboards, window sills, and built-in furniture are picked out in brilliant colors—greens, blues, and Chinese reds. The floors are covered with linoleum in a neutral green-gray Jaspé. The downstairs living room has an open fire place, the dining room is paneled in knotty pine, and is planned so that it may be used as a study room or reading room in the evenings. It is hoped that each cottage will ultimately accumulate a library of simple standard fiction. The buildings are wired for radio and an outlet provided in the basement playroom.

Life in these dormitories should be as much a well planned educational experience as any other phase of the school program. Boys and girls should both participate in all of the home making activities connected with the program and all instruction in home economics and home making should be adequately cared for in this environment. Many other phases of instruction, the main objective of which is to develop wise use of leisure time, such as development of taste in literature and music are often carried on in the home atmosphere of the cottage living room. The enjoyment of literature, after all, does not depend upon the analysis of the structural form, but upon learning to view the story as a commentary on life and a means of broadening one's knowledge of life through vicarious experience. To accomplish this purpose, reading aloud by teacher or pupil in a family group seated around an open fire followed by expressions of personal enjoyment or criticisms of the content, appears to be more calculated to produce love of reading for its recreational value than the more formal organized teaching of literature within the English classroom. Groups of boys and girls who come together to sing for the fun of singing are much more likely to enjoy themselves and carry over to adult life a love of singing than are youngsters who have been made to sing in choral groups whether they enjoy it or not.

Because all of this living experience constitutes learning in its most stimulating aspects, it is believed that these cottage dormitories should be staffed with people of taste, culture, and learning. While the Indian Service often has been fortunate enough to secure matrons who would qualify under such a definition, the requirements for the position of matron and the salary paid cannot be counted upon to enlist with any degree of universality women with the educational preparation to meet these new demands. It has thus appeared that the supervisory staff living in the cottage dormitories must be members of the teaching body.

5. COTTAGE DORMITORIES

3. THE FAMILY COUNCIL

LIVING with children 24 hours a day may become very burdensome. In fact many competent teachers find that the nervous strain of five hours a day in the classroom leaves them seriously fatigued. However, the development of the cottage dormitory program must be primarily educational, if it is to contribute most effectively to the lives of the youngsters involved. This means that cottage dormitories must be in charge of people who recognize that learning takes place through living experience, even more than through precept, and who know that education advances in proportion as educational experiences become functional phases of living. (Many Indian Service teachers, especially those who have been dealing with younger chlidren, have recognized this fact and have been longing for opportunities to extend the sphere of their influence far beyond the confines of the classroom.)

Children are learning when they are at play on the school grounds, when they are engaged in work details, in the after supper hour before they go to bed, while they are eating, and during every other activity of the day. They are learning from other children, from non-teaching employees of the school, and from observation of the actions of their teachers when off duty. Some of this learning is the more delightful because it is in areas avoided by the official curriculum. In other cases it is wholly unconscious interaction between personalities. Whether we like it or not, most of our civic training and our character education takes place during these unofficial periods. It is then that plots are hatched, that temptations to steal or otherwise to misbehave occur; it is then that we formulate our manners for getting on with other people.

The cottage dormitory staffed by understanding adults offers an ideal setting for the working out of a desirable system of self direction which will make constructive use of the free hours. If the personnel who are placed in charge of the cottage units feel that they must assume responsibility for closely supervising all of the activities of each member of "the family" such supervision will become an intolerable burden. On the other hand if the supervisory personnel throw the responsibility totally on the child without offering continuous guidance through discussion toward the formulation of desirable group attitudes, the situation will become intolerable from an entirely different point of view. In the first instance the child will have no opportunity for assuming responsibility for his own or others' actions, and there will naturally grow up a feeling that if the adult supervisors are assuming responsibility for everything, then anything which students can "get by with" without the knowledge of the adults, is a legitimate part of the game. On the other hand, if there is no guidance and no attempt to build up standards for personal conduct and for group responsibility, the stronger members of the group will set the pattern for behavior. Whether that pattern is good or bad will depend upon the chance associates and experiences in the past of each leader.

The situation may, of course be compared to any family. Most of us have seen famlies in which the father or mother or both, fussily interfered with everything the children did or thought of doing. Such persons were usually so cocksure that they knew their children's every thought and action, that individuals within the family who broke over the traces were usually safe from detection because deflections were not considered possible.

Then there were the other families where neither father nor mother nor any adult offered constructive guidance. Children did what they pleased and ran wild in the doing of it. They were discourteous, inconsiderate, no respecters of persons, and violated the rights of their adult associates at almost every turn. In neither environment had the children gained the first essential to social control—a sense of responsibility both to themselves and to society's expectations with regard to them.

Somewhere between the two, lies the family which clearly and frankly discusses its ideals and its standards, which strives to build up within each family member considered respect for the rights of others and a sense of the individual's responsibility toward himself, toward the family, and toward society at large. Such standards are not laid down as dicta but grow out of discussion, participated in by the group. Each individual becomes responsible for his own conduct and to the degree to which the opportunity is presented becomes a consultant with regard to the difficulties encountered by other members of the family. Such family councils produce attitudes toward the way in which conduct should be directed, rather than hard and fast rules for personal behavior. Each individual becomes a conscious and intelligent judge of his own conduct in terms of such standards. He doesn't need father or mother at his elbow saying this is right, and that is wrong, this is black and that is white. He has developed a set of attitudes governing the way in which he wishes to deal with his fellows and the kind of reactions which he wishes to receive from them. Therafter he becomes the guide and judge of his own conduct, in the many instances when such conduct is inevitably unsupervised.

Life within our cottage dormitories to be effective must be organized along the lines of the "middle" family. The house mother or father can't possibly anticipate all which may happen and can't be present as each problem appears. Any attempt to be on hand and make decisions for each of the 20 young people would be not only impossible but nerve racking and undesirable. No person approaching the job from this standpoint could possibly add such a burden to those already carried in connection with day by day teaching and the other responsibilities of a school. On the other hand no group of children can be turned loose to do as they please.

In the cottage dormitory, they are being brought together in a new environment, faced with a learning situation in which new ways of behaving and new ways of thinking are involved. In order that their attitudes and their actions be wise and considerate it is important that the possibilities be explored in advance through group discussion, and that individual errors as they occur be explored in group conference, not with a view to assessing punishment, but from the standpoint of understanding and avoiding such undesirable actions and experiences in the future.

It has been suggested that at least once a week the cottage groups assemble around the fireplace in the living room and freely discuss life within the cottage. These discussions should involve a clear understanding of the various problems which will be encountered, the various jobs which must be done in order that the cooking and the cleaning and the laundry involved in such a family relationship may be properly cared for and the responsibility fairly shared within the membership of the group. Such a discussion should lead to a clear listing of the responsibilities, a recognition of the degree to which each individual is involved, and then so far as possible result in a division of responsibilities over a period of weeks into the future, that represents as far as possible a voluntary assumption of duties by each individual. This is not to indicate that any amount of discussion will make dish washing or bed making or any other of the community activities romantic to individuals who do not consider them so. But it does mean that many duties of that kind may be accepted as reasonable and logical responsibilities of group living and as such each individual may be taught to recognize the importance of contributing his own share to their performance.

There is a psychological difference and an important one between doing something unpleasant because somebody else assigns you the job and says you have to do it, and volunteering to do the same job because you recognize clearly that it needs to be done. It is not a matter of sugar coating the pill —it is just a question of rationalizing our responsibilty for our own proper share of the less pleasant responsibilities of life. These weekly conferences might well incorporate a friendly evaluation of how well such jobs have been done, and ways and means by which they might be better done. Thus the reward of group approval, and the guide of group judgment, may afford each individual some clear understanding of how well things should be done. At this point it may be well to add that greater satisfactions will be gained by all members of the group if the jobs are well done, and the standards of performance are high. There is much more satisfaction in achieving something worthy, though difficult, than there is in doing something which when done, is still of questionable value.

Any craftsman to be worth his salt must

have a spiritual incentive to do his job in the best possible manner, whether it be the digging of a hole, the making of a silver bracelet, the training of a horse, the cooking of a meal, or just washing the supper dishes.

6. COTTAGE DORMITORIES

4. IN ACTION AT RIVERSIDE

THE first cottage dormitory at Riverside School, Anadarko, Oklahoma, was opened one day in May of 1939. Today, there are seven cottages in operation, each housing twenty students—ten boys and ten girls—and two cottage sponsors.

"This is our home," is the proud statement of a student living in a cottage dormitory. These four words express both pride and a feeling of security. They convey the child's deep sense of satisfaction at being part of a worthwhile activity. They reveal him in the midst of a living experience in which he is one of the important actors. The school folks are his new home folks. All of this is in direct contrast to the kind of institutional living which houses the student in great barracks-like rooms lined and checkerboarded with beds; which emphasize the emotional and social upset caused by breaking away from his home and his family.

Two members of the school staff live in the cottage and the student can go to the cottage sponsors just as he would to his own mother or father with any of his problems. The sponsors will take time to listen and give advice. Some of the other boys and girls in the cottage are of his own age, some are older and some are younger, just as would be the case in his own family at home. His own brothers and sisters may be among his cottage mates. Even if he has no relatives at school, his cottage group soon becomes his "school family." Its problems become his problems. Its accepted customs of good behavior are accepted by him. Its happy hours are his.

A newcomer gradually learns from former members of the cottage family. They are eager to teach him what he does not know. They explain their ways of doing. They lead him to understand that they have helped to make the rules and have found them good. They show him how the cottage group elects its own officers, governs itself, solves cottage problems with guidance from its two sponsors. When there is a vacancy, the boys and girls then living in the cottage choose the student who is invited to join the family.

The newcomer discovers that the boys have a portion of the cottage that belongs to them. The girls have theirs. Each group respects the rights of the other. One stairway of the attractive living room leads up to the girls' rooms, and another to the boys' rooms, each of which is just right for three or four students. The rooms have double-decked beds, leaving plenty of floor space for study table and chairs. Individual lockers and dressers are built in. Bright linoleum and brightly colored furniture add life to the tinted walls. The several rooms have different color combinations. Living under these conditions, cleanliness and orderliness easily become part of the student's way of life. He finds out that he has his fair share of work to do because he eats one-twentieth of the food, brings in one-twentieth of the dirt, receives one-twentieth of the clothing issued to his cottage group.

The idea of sharing makes the new member realize that his school home is similar to his own home. Everyone shares in the work and in the play. The sooner the work is done right, the more time there is for recreation. Little children sweep steps, sidewalks, clean and set the tables. Older girls or boys cook and serve the meals; it does not take long to find out that the food is good. It is fun to sit down to an attractively set table, use gay napkins and join in the laughter, talk and good-natured banter of the intimate cottage group.

Before the cottages were first opened, the girls in home economics classes planned the furniture and the equipment needed, the types of draperies, the colors that would be right in the rooms, and the kind of table linens that would be attractive and also stand the wear of hard use. They tried to get the most and the best for the amount of money allotted for equipping the cottage. Study was given to how to live and work in the cottage. Since the cottages have been opened, the details of each day's living have been planned in advance. Making use of the knowledge obtained from previous preparation and planning, has been the keynote of successful operation of the cottage system. So it is in any well-managed home.

Monday night is cottage-get-together night for each group. Every member is expected to be on time for these meetings held at seven o'clock in the living room.

They are conducted by the president with the help of other elected officers. School and cottage problems are talked over and suggestions are made by the students.

Many proposals made by students prove helpful. One senior boy thought that it would be a good idea for all cottage presidents to meet with the chairman of inter-cottage relations prior to each cottage meeting to discuss common problems. Thus a unity of effort and purpose in all cottages was established.

It is fun to hear the little ones give their suggestions. When you hear a five-year old boy say, "I want you all to clean your feet so you don't get the steps so muddy; you are too big for me to clean up after you," you are reminded that the smallest job may be very big and very important to the person responsible for it.

After the business meeting, the program committee takes charge. Interesting games, new music, and songs and demonstrations make this a lively time. If the cooking group is willing, simple refreshments are served. Often corn raised in the cottage garden plot is popped over the open fire. The fireplace forms a natural center for gatherings of the group at all times. Its cheerful flames put young people into the frame of mind for informal chats that help to build up a feeling of security and well being. How interested the boys and girls are in radio programs! News, football games, music and continued adventure stories each has its share of followers. The Sunday morning broadcast from Boys' Town is one of the boys' "must hear" programs. Games and game tables are placed in convenient spots. The center of the floor space is generally free for active games and dancing. Here boys and girls meet on common ground. The laughter, low music and easy conversation make you know that friendships are forming.

Of course everyone enjoys the dining room. The cooking group look after this and the kitchen. In the cottage foods class which meets every day, this group discusses its cooking problems, plans and tries out menus, and makes a detailed work-plan for the next day. Each girl in the group is responsible for carrying out her share of the total plan. The girls prepare and serve all meals. This is cooking practice, but it is based on supervised training and is related to the actual carrying out of plans which could be used in the girls' own homes. Many of the cooking experiences make good oral English material. These girls learn to laugh at their mistakes as well as to profit by them. There is a plain reason for learning mathematics when you have to double a given recipe. The girls learn to estimate the quantity of food to prepare for a certain number of people. The value of good nutrition and the necessity for home sanitation are aspects of health education with which the girls become familiar through experience. Theory and practice go hand in hand; theories are proved or disproved by putting them into practice. Records of former students show that most of the girls become homemakers in their own or their parents' home soon after leaving school.

Every two weeks the cooking-five change places with the cleaning-five. Thus different phases of housekeeping are learned and practiced in turn. The cleaning-five are responsible for cleaning their own rooms, the halls and living room. These girls learn the care of three different types of floors and correct ways to wax and preserve a good surface on wood and linoleum floors. When reasons for cleanliness are understood, when good workmanship is praised, and when poor work has to be done over until skill is acquired—then the individual usually develops a sense of personal responsibility and pride of accomplishment. Work sheets, made up by the students, are posted in a conspicuous place to help the young people in their self-checking.

Do boys have any active share in cottage planning? Indeed, they do! The older boys have helping assignments about the plant and on outside projects. They work in the bakery and make the bread which is eaten every day. The younger boys work around the cottage and are helpful in many ways. They carry the sheets and bath towels to the main laundry and bring them back. They empty the trash baskets and help sweep the sidewalks. They empty the garbage from the kitchen, unless one of the cottage boys is interested in a pig project; in that case he wants the kitchen refuse.

The boys are responsible for the care and cleanliness of their own rooms. They do the cleaning in their portion of the cottage, help clean the living room and the playroom. They fix the flower beds, wash windows, do minor repair jobs and run the waxer over the larger rooms. They try to be careful with their bedspreads, to save washing—this means folding them when they take them off, and not sitting on the beds. They try to be careful with their clothing to save both washing and mending. They respect the rights of the girls by getting to meals on time. Several good suggestions have been made by the boys about cooking. They learn not to find fault with the meals. When one girl made her first biscuits, the boys were warm in their praises even if the biscuits were a trifle cold and hard. There is one invariable rule that helps determine part of the work-sharing: no boys are ever asked to do any thing on the girls' side, and no girl is ever permitted to go to the boys' side. This fact helps solve many possible social problems.

Cottage living tends to develop many leaders. This person may be a leader in one activity, another a leader when something else is happening. Natural individual abilities get a chance to come to the surface and to be used for the benefit of all. Whether a student is a leader or a follower today depends on what is taking place.

The cottage sponsor—what is his or her role? It is the role of guidance—of the mother, the father, the older relative, the adviser, with the ability to glimpse the desirable goal ahead and patiently steer for it. Sponsors must be persons with real imagination, a good sense of humor, faith in the fundamental rightness of young people, a deep sympathy and understanding for others less fortunate, an enthusiasm for accomplishment, an ability to delegate responsibility to others, and a pioneering spirit. It is well for the sponsor to be aware of the fact that habits are modified by persistent and intelligent effort, and that likable personalities can be developed. The sponsor's own interests and outlook on life are broadened and vivified through unlimited opportunities to find out about home backgrounds, to observe individual likes and dislikes in operation, and to study the personality traits of each boy and girl.

The wise cottage sponsor shifts responsibility to the shoulders of the older students. Effective group discipline comes into being through the development of individual responsibilities in cooperation with group pressures. Living in a cottage is an exercise in cooperative existence. It represents a challenge both to the student and to the sponsor.

All staff members, living in a cottage, attend a sponsors' meeting every two weeks. To this clearing house come also the chairman of cottage relations, the principal, the boys' and girls' advisers, the heads of the home economics department and of the agricultural department. Problems and questions pertaining to cottage living are brought into the open. New ideas are welcomed. New solutions to old problems are proposed. These meetings assist in maintaining definiteness and goals of attainment for the cottage system.

The cottage dormitory philosophy stems from the oldest and most closely-knit social unit known—the family. It recognizes the right of the individual to develop in a home atmosphere. It tries to integrate the growing personality through establishing a feeling of security. It makes possible a more functional guidance program. Indian boys and girls are given an opportunity to experience something of the better side of domestic living in the White man's order of things. The cottage dormitory reproduces a democratic way of life that seeks to assure like opportunities for all, that emphasizes continuous betterment of general welfare, that stresses tolerance and understanding, that is characterized by mutual freedoms.

Ask any cottage dweller if he would prefer to return to the older type of dormitory life, and the answer will be an emphatic "No". Student reaction to the cottage dormitory system is illustrated by the following incident: One day, a twelve year old girl was acting as cottage hostess. In response to a knock, she opened the door and was confronted by a distinguished looking man. He asked permission to be shown through the cottage. The young hostess was glad to display her "home" and to explain how the cottage family used it. Her enthusiasm was evident. At the conclusion of his tour, the visitor remarked, "Well, young lady, you have certainly sold the cottage plan to me." She replied quickly in startled tones, "Oh, no sir! We like it too much; it's not for sale."—*Quigley*

7. UNIT DORMITORY POSSIBILITIES

SEQUOYAH, Seneca, Carson, and Cheyenne River are a few of the schools where unit plan dormitories have been erected. Here 30 students are housed in smaller rooms and the unit is under the direction of a staff member, one of whose duties is to have personal concern with the lives of his or her charges.

In addition to the greater respect for personality made possible by the smaller bedrooms, these units have been equipped with large comfortably-furnished living rooms and usually several units together share the use of a basement play room. Quite naturally the actual administration of these units has varied from school to school. While the possibilities for family living have not been as great as in the cottage dormitories a valuable enrichment of community living has been possible. No attempt has been made in the unit set-up to provide opportunity for continuing normal association between boys and girls for each unit is limited to members of one sex. An interesting statement of the possibilities which one teacher found in her administration of the unit dormitory is here offered for the value which it may be to others facing similar opportunities:

Correlation, cooperation and coordination are the three C's in the relationship of the schoolroom and the Unit.

Mathematics provided an easy way of beginning correlation—everything in the Unit cost "how much?" As soon as a youngster found out how much his school shirt, trousers, or shoes cost—you found him taking much better care of them. From "how much?" came the question "where?" Then we were off—cotton, picked in the south, manufactured in the north, and sold to the school as shirts and dresses—wool, cut from the sheep, manufactured and sold to the school as sweaters and caps—leather, skinned from the animals, manufactured and sold to the school as shoes—thus, we studied geography, reading, spelling, hygiene and history.

From clothing costs we went to wood and metal furniture. Of course, we didn't stop with the study of the furniture, we went back and found where each article came from. Metal and wood are such interesting subjects. Poetry and stories added much to our enjoyment of these studies.

Our floors caused quite a number of questions and some real fun as we found out about rubber trees. The effect of rubber on our transportation was a new idea—really worth while. We studied cars, car costs, airplanes, roads, inventors—history, mathematics and geography were soon so mixed up in our every day life that they weren't hard cold subjects any more—they were interesting living realities. Better care was given the floors—the fifth grade boys explained to the other boys in the Unit "we must wash them just right and polish them, because rubber is soft and it must be given a good surface."

Good health rules learned in the classroom became every day practices. One boy who was rather lazy and generally dirty began to take a special pride in having clean hands, face, and clothing. His hair stayed down and his school work improved.

Cooperation entered into work and play Every boy had a certain house detail to do. That was his home duty. The boys soon found out that if each one began his work and finished it right—it meant more free time for him. Each boy soon learned to do his own work first; after his own was finished, he could help some one else if he cared to do so. This individual responsibility formulated a Unit pride that accomplished much more than anything else could have done. Obedience was not used as a word — the boys were interested in reasons and the teacher in results.

Coordination was a direct result of correlation and cooperation. The boys often found quicker and better ways of doing the work assigned them. The teacher learned several short cuts. Doing their work quickly and well meant more time on the playground or in the reading room.

English wasn't a school subject; we sat around the fireplace chatting. It became real—as funny happenings and other experiences were related. This story hour was fun—sometimes it dissolved into two or three. Groups of boys in chairs and on the floors listened to all kinds of stories as they were told or read. Comments, questions, and answers were all given attention. Questions on all topics were asked, some—the boys answered; some—the teacher answered; others—had to be looked up. This English was informal, yes, but so informing.

Correlation with what is learned in the classroom, individual responsibility leading to cooperation, and coordination of mind and muscle are the chief accomplishments of the Unit dormitory.—*Quigley*

8. THE PRACTICE COTTAGE

TEACHERS of home economics have for some time sought to vitalize their teaching by the use of a practice cottage or model apartment. Fundamentally the idea is sound. In practice it is often of doubtful value. The weaknesses should be obvious.

The greatest learning value about such a structure lies in planning its construction and what goes into it. Unfortunately, it is only the first group of occupants who usually enjoy that experience. A new building cannot be erected each year. Acquiring furniture, floor covering and draperies usually involves expense—more than can be provided as a recurring budget item. Future classes have to content themselves with dusting, sweeping, and washing the examples of their predecessors' taste. They may plan at doing it all over, but the zest of reality is gone.

To be useful, the working features of such a structure should be within the budget range of the families from which the children come, or into which they will eventually go through marriage. As a matter of common practice, however, this equipment is geared to the possibilities of the upper middle class, and completely beyond the life experiences of the majority. Is your home economics kitchen or your practice cottage equipped with electric stoves? How many homes tributary to the school have, or are likely to have electric connections, or having them can afford to cook with electricity? How many possess sanitary toilets or running water?

The Lynds' study of Middletown* (Muncie, Indiana) showed that that typical midwest American community was far from sharing its opportunities for better living with more than a fraction of its people. Around 1925, 33 per cent of the population living in detached dwellings (their own homes or rented buildings) were without sanitary toilets and used back yard privies; 25 per cent of the homes had no running water; and 55 per cent had no telephones. The list might be extended, but it should be apparent that home economics teaching which assumed the presence in the home of non-existent facilities, could not in many cases carry over into improved living.

The contention that many of the children will acquire a desire for better things is beside the point. Who is to say that a family earning an income of $1200 or less a year should increase its budget for fuel by introducing a gas water heater, or by beginning to cook with gas or electricity? Presumably the purpose of home economics instruction is to improve the quality of food and clothing enjoyed by people of little means, as well as girls from better homes; not to develop tastes for luxuries beyond the scope of a typical family budget.

Another favorite justification for gearing home economics equipment beyond the economic possibilities of the families being served, is that the girls so trained may find employment working as domestic servants for their more fortunate sisters. This also is beside the point. Fundamentally, home economics training is presumed to contribute to practical home making. This means for the student herself, and to be of value must be expressed in practical terms within the present or future homemaking possibilities of the student herself. What little extra training may serve to make good servants out of those girls who may enter domestic service, may be added as a filip to the regular program in a period of a few weeks at most.

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*Middletown by Helen and Robert Lynd, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1929.

Home economics training should be designed to train students to make more effective use of what they have, or may honestly look forward to having. There is no justification for assuming that any large number of the girls enrolled in our classes are Cinderellas in disguise. Most will marry boys from homes much like those from which they themselves have come, and will find themselves faced with the necessity of living within a budget not greatly in excess of that of their parents. In fact, few young men can look forward to an initial income as great as their fathers are earning or as the fathers of their brides are receiving.

All that precedes is written in general terms and applies as much to wage-earning urban Whites as to Indians. However, in the Indian Service the obligation of our home economics classes in many areas is to train girls who will become the wives of subsistence farmers and who can look forward to little, if any, cash income. Even more important, therefore, is it for such courses in the Indian Service to be planned in terms of actual and potential living conditions.

Nothing is to be gained by telling a child who comes from a one room cabin, with an outside pump, that the American single family house should contain five rooms with running hot and cold water. It savors of Marie Antoinette's reputed reply to the starving Parisians who were demanding bread, "If they have no bread, let them eat cake." It misses the point entirely. Improvement in Indian housing and living conditions is going to come about gradually and through economically feasible changes in existing conditions. The money isn't available, and will not become available, to rehouse all the Indians now living in cabins. Unless the Indians themselves desired something better, new homes would accomplish little. The story of the state which built bungalows for a colony of Indians, only to discover the following year that the Indians had gone back to living in wikiups in the back yards and were stabling their livestock in the houses, is true. And it isn't the only case of the kind.

Any important change must come about gradually, as people's standards change. Therefore, any idea that Indian housing can in one generation be raised to highest rural housing levels should be put aside. Instruction should be very concrete and in terms of step by step improvement in sanitation, comfort, and convenience.

With training, many Indian families can learn to produce excellent gardens, and supplement their vegetables with poultry, milk, and various forms of livestock. Many live in areas where wood is the only possible fuel and in homes of limited size. These are the basic facts about which homemaking instruction must be organized.

Planning for the future must begin with what is possible, and look forward to gradual improvement of existing facilities. Our schools, therefore, need typical Indian cabins for practice cottages which the students may learn through experience to improve.

Changes will take the form of an extra room, simple but more comfortable furniture, more effective provision for personal cleanliness and the washing of dishes and clothes, more efficient heating and ventilating, or the use of inexpensive paints for colorful decoration. Girls or boys learning such things in school can visualize similar improvements being made in their own homes.

A practice cottage conceived in these terms may serve a real and practical training purpose. In addition as the school becomes a center for home extension activities, girls and their mothers can both profit from the experience of applying in their own homes the practical down-to-earth improvements demonstrated in the practice cottage.

9. MAKING THE DESIRABLE POSSIBLE

IS there any inconsistency between what has been said about new types of dormitories, and the program of practise cottage experience, *carried on in buildings typical of Indian dwellings?* In one breath the argument may appear to be in favor of middle class American home life. In the next, in favor of limiting living experiences to what a housing expert would call sub-standard conditions.

As a matter of fact, it is believed that the two ideas are not inconsistent. Each is designed to serve a definite purpose, and both experiences are deemed necessary. The fundamental desire in both instances is to improve living conditions in the Indian home. The first necessary step toward such improvement must be to establish in the pupil a desire for something better than that to which he has become accustomed in his own home. Not only must he desire something better, but he must be so habituated to better living that he will know what to do with improved conditions if he gets them.

Too many Indians have been moved into White-type homes who possessed neither the desire for changed conditions, nor knowledge of how to use them. Many an Indian with money has built himself a house, but returned to the wikiup for comfort; and occasionally a poor Indian has accepted a government house, only to nail up the windows, shut the door, stoke up the stove—and die in a few years of tuberculosis. Indians have been known to build campfires in the middle of hardwood floors; move good furniture out into the snow, so as to have room to sleep on goatskins spread on the floor; and perform many other "gaucheries"—seen from the White viewpoint.

There is nothing inborn about such behavior. Many a poor White man has drunk out of his first fingerbowl, and lived to wear a tuxedo with poise. How we live is largely a matter of habit,—what we are used to, physically, and what we think about it. By and large, a well-built and comfortable home, properly lived in, is probably healthier than a dug-out into which the sunlight never penetrates. On the other hand, present records indicate that the Florida Seminoles in their brush chickees are the healthiest Indians.

Desirable living habits can be gained best in convenient and desirable quarters. Once established, such habits become a driving force, and an individual is willing to make an effort to satisfy his newly established needs.

On the other hand, most Indians are desperately poor. They live in areas where Nature has been niggardly in supplying the raw materials of home construction. They lack the funds to purchase imported materials to whose cost of manufacture must be added excessive transportation charges. Despite all their desires, few Indian school graduates will be financially able to build themselves middle-class American homes. Brought up to think of better living solely in these terms, home improvement becomes an impossible aspiration. For a time they are tempted to run away from old home conditions — then in desperation accept them as inevitable and make no effort at improvement.

Even the poorest Indian home may be made better. Wiser use of native materials will form the basis for improvement. A Navaho hogan can be built with a window or two. Almost any type of Indian home can be expanded to two, three, or more reasonably comfortable rooms—if the owner desires them. Many times storage cabinets will make a simple home more liveable; better containers for washing—be it a tub or a sink—will facilitate laundering or dishwashing or even personal bathing. When an Indian home is in a country where water is easily available, springs or streams may be dammed, and with simple piping, running water may be brought into the house. A sanitary privy built in proper relationship to the water supply and adequately screened against flies is a desirable possibility for nearly every Indian home.

Paint may be used to make home interiors more attractive and easier to keep clean. Each step in improvement, however, must be built upon what the Indian already has—looking toward its betterment, not its destruction and replacement. But the energizing drive must come from a man and a woman who have *enjoyed* greater comfort than the old home afforded and who are willing to make the effort to build some of those comforts into the surroundings among which they must live.

10.

LET'S UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER

1. CARE IN INTERPRETATION

TRANSLATING ideas from one language into another is a difficult job at best. Most translation with which we are familiar is between languages which have similar structure. Yet even with these Indo-European languages we find that nations or groups of people do not think in precisely the same manner about the same things. Their patterns of thought vary in greater or lesser degree, and their languages reflect this fact *Yo me levante*' is the Spanish equivalent of "I got up." Although both sentences convey the same general concept, the manner of looking at the act differs between them, for the Spaniard actually says "I raised myself." The latter is fixing his attention on the act of rising, while the Englishman is thinking of the state of being "up." *Voy a hacerme cortar el pelo,* translated literally as "I-go to to-make-me to-cut the hair" does not make sense, because it does not fit the pattern of English speech. Neither would a literal translation into Spanish of the English equivalent "I am going to get my hair cut" make sense. Despite the fact that Spanish and English are quite closely related we both express ourselves from a different angle, so to speak. With languages that are only distantly related, or which are totally unrelated, this divergency is far more pronounced.

In addition to these simple divergencies, every language evolves idioms, where the logical sum total of the individual words has an entirely different meaning from the generally accepted intent of the phrase or expression. To translate effectively, an individual must be completely at home in all of these intricacies of both languages. White speakers, addressing non-English-speaking Indian groups do not generally realize that differences between distinct languages render extemporary interpretation very difficult. The White speaker is commonly accustomed to think about such matters from the standpoint of one familiar with the more widely studied Indo-European languages, such as Spanish, French, Italian, German, etc., among which interrelationship of vocabulary, grammatical categories, and patterns of thought and expression minimize the difficulties of translation from one into the other. The fact is that translation from one language into another is seldom, if ever, perfect, and the degree of accuracy attained is in no small wise determined by the degree of similarity between the two languages involved.

In many instances White speakers are more concerned with beauty of speech and euphonious words than with the idea they set out to convey. In such cases the interpreter is at a loss, for he can merely isolate the idea, if indeed he can locate it, and state it in so many words. The force which the orator sought by playing upon words, or by other clever means of the same rank, is utterly lost in the process of translation. To interpret the term "soil erosion" the interpreter does not merely give the Indian word for "erosion"—rather, he describes, or defines the idea denoted by the English *name* "soil erosion." If the interpreter does not fully understand the concept he cannot possibly translate it.

Interpretation could be greatly improved if the interpreter were provided with a copy of the proposed speech days in advance, in order that he could prepare a written translation of it. With ample time, and in the quiet of his own office, he could produce a draft as good, if not better, than the original. It might not be an exact translation phrase for phrase, but it could be made to express the same idea, merely couching the mode of expression in the idiomatic turns of the native instead of the original language.

Because of our disregard for the difficulties inherent in translation, native councilmen often are called upon to vote on measures of vital importance to themselves and to the people whom they represent, but without understanding fully, if at all, that upon which they must decide. Before being called to vote upon it, the measure is usually passed amongst them, written in English. The writing is then interpreted to them, if they are unable to read it, and after a brief, and often confusing discussion, they are ready to vote. Sometimes discussion occupies more time than can be justified by the nature of the question at hand. The shortcomings of a system wherein an interpreter or interpreters must be relied upon to give such information as this are too obvious to require elaboration. The simple expedient of writing the bill in the native tongue could shorten many of the now protracted discussions, and could give the people a more truly democratic form of self-government, besides making the position of the demagogue less tenable.

This would take more time and would require more work—but it would safeguard democracy and greatly strength Indian self government.—*Young*.

2. LANGUAGE BARRIERS

FOR more than ten days during the month of April 1941 representative Indianists from the United States met with representative Indianists (the term was coined south of the border) from Latin America in a conference devoted to the well-being of Indians in the Americas. Out of respect to the great number of Spanish speaking representatives the conference was organized in Spanish. The official delegates of the United States were equipped with interpreters, but many of the English-speaking group found themselves pretty much on the outskirts, and because their experience appears to parallel what happens to the non-English-speaking full-blood Indian at many conferences, it seems worth telling how it feels to be on the outside looking in.

Because the steps in organizing the Congress were routine, it was not considered important to translate into English what was taking place. Experience in international gatherings has taught Latin Americans that it is exceedingly difficult to persuade the representatives of nations to commit themselves positively. Even the most desirable and strongly favored proposal may fail to secure enough votes for passage, if each supporter must vote positively for it. A procedure of voting by delegations also wastes valuable time, so it has become routine in conferences of this kind to announce that if there is no objection, the proposal under discussion stands approved. A few seconds are allowed for dissenters to make themselves heard and if none are heard, the measure or resolution is declared adopted. It doesn't take very many words to explain that such is the procedure, and many North Americans found themselves operating under these rules before they realized that rules had been proposed.

No ultimate disadvantage grew out of the situation, but it is mentioned to reinforce what has often been said about the importance of supplying adequate interpretation for the benefit of the non-English speaking Indians whose business in tribal council is transacted in the English language. Repeatedly the English-speaking group in charge of such meetings, many of whom are not familiar with the native language, become so familiar with the routine which they are conducting that it never enters their heads that such formalities are of importance to the non-English-speaking members and should be carefully translated. We from the United States at the congress referred to would have been justly indignant had our ignorance of language and procedure been taken advantage of to record us as supporting undesirable measures which we knew nothing about, simply because we had failed to register opposition. Similarly the full-blood Indian on the reservation may justly resent actions with which he may be in disagreement, but against which he has no opportunity to register his opposition.

Another experience shared by many of our group may also offer a parallel. In many of the section meetings the habit was finally established of providing translation for important discussions which were presented. However, at frequent intervals there occurred a rapid exchange in Spanish between representatives of the Latin states. These were often of a minor nature, were over quickly, and because they were more or less personal and the spokesmen left no time for the interpolation of translations, were not interpreted to the North American delegation. Usually the matters were of small moment, and nothing fundamental was lost by failure to know what had taken place. On the other hand, there were times when such brief exchanges resulted in clarifying a statement or in a rather fundamental modification of the intent of a statement of which the North Americans remained in ignorance.

When the discovery was ultimately made that such untranslated dialog left one of the participating parties in ignorance of a vital factor, there were occasionally those who felt that the omission might have been deliberate and who thereafter viewed such exchanges with suspicion. One can easily believe that many of our own full-blood Indians, witnessing rapid exchanges in English between their English speaking leaders and the White man which, while innocent in themselves, result in effective modification of the matters under discussion, may become suspicious of the intentions of those who fail to make adequate translations.

A third factor restricted in some degree the effectiveness of understanding in this bilingual conference. Speakers frequently talked longer than the capacity of the average interpreter to recall the points presented or the fine distinctions drawn. As a result even the more conscientious of those who undertook translation found themselves unwittingly omitting items of importance, or failing to give that stress to the points under discussion intended by the speaker, thus innocently leading to misunderstandings. Here again one has no difficulty in drawing a parallel with occasions in the Indian Service when representatives of the Indian Office have delivered whole speeches in English, with only an occasional and inadequate pause for translation.

With a little forethought and consideration, all of the difficulties can be greatly minimized, as was proved in several of the Patzcuaro section meetings. Where the chairman or other directing officer of the discussion group was conscious of the potential difficulties and determined to minimize their interference with understanding, an atmosphere of confidence and intelligent participation was easily developed. A slower tempo of action had of necessity to be accepted, for every idea was expressed in both languages by competent interpreters, and no attempt was made to proceed until thorough understanding had been achieved by all. Once that objective had been made clear to all, the new tempo was accepted and all participants in the discussion quickly fell into a habit of breaking up their own contributions into paragraphs sufficiently short and well integrated to make for careful and accurate translation. Within a few days, meetings were proceeding so smoothly that many participants had almost forgotten that two languages were in constant use. To make this more desirable procedure possible, two steps were requisite: First, a considered determination that everything which took place must be thoroughly understood by all; second, the careful selection of two or three interpreters fully at home in both languages who were equally determined that every thought expressed by either side should be heard in the other language in the full sense in which it was intended. Such an ideal should certainly be the objective of every bilingual conference held within the Indian Service, and it should be the relentless purpose of every federal representative to achieve such a standard of understanding.

It is undoubtedly true that carelessness in translating fully the meanings of both parties, has been to blame for more hard feelings between Indians and Whites than the innate ill will of either party.

3. LIMITATIONS OF LANGUAGE

UNFORTUNATELY, our most common means of inter-communication is through language. Unfortunate because each of us who uses language feels so confident of his own intention in the use of words, that he seldom stops to find out if they mean the same thing to his listeners. Usually, of course, they don't. Words, after all, are seldom exact in their meaning. One's experience with a word does so much to color its meaning—and no two people ever have identical experiences with words.

Take "home" as an example. It seems harmless and clear enough—but let us examine some of its possible meanings—

1. It may be thought of primarily the place one lives in—which may vary from the mansion of a millionaire to the hogan of a Navaho. The word, of course, would include all of these residences looked at from the experience of one who lives there—and yet think of the variety and mutually exclusively experiences possible around these different "homes."

2. It may be thought of as the family with whom one grew up, and again the variety is endless. The rich child is liable to think of servants; the poor city boy of an overworked mother and a father oppressed with the struggle for existence; the country boy may remember aunts and uncles and grandparents in the same dwelling; and an Indian lad may think of the countless relatives of the "extended family" who bear much the same relationship to him that is reserved for a White boy's mother or father.

3. To still others "home" may mean the elms and lawn of New England, the yellow mesas and fiery sunsets of Arizona or the snow-capped Sierras of California.

To the man who grew up along the sea coast, "home" carries a tang of salt air; to the man of the great prairie the wide-open places are "home;" and to the dwellers in fertile valleys, the nearness of the hills gives a protecting shelter to home. Transplant any one of these individuals to another location, and it may never become "home," for it will lack certain basic experiences associated with "home."

4. Or "home" may mean the friends of one's youth,—the boys and girls one went to school with, or the older folks who are indelibly associated with the experiences of youth. Meeting anyone of them at the other end of the earth is "homelike"— and returning among them after years away may arouse a nostalgic feeling.

So when I use the word "home" it may have for me any one of these various meanings—and when you hear me use it, it will inevitably call up in your mind a totally different series of associations. But we'll each be satisfied with our own meaning — and never for a moment stop to wonder if our meanings are the same.

The same confusion of meanings will surround almost any word one cares to choose — take one more example — rich or poor. Whether I am one or the other depends upon who is describing me—or to whom or to what condition I am being compared. To the average well-to-do White, most Indians are poor. But to many Indians who are used to being as they are, the word or the idea might be applied to some of their neighbors—but certainly not to their group as a whole—unless they have had a chance to experience White man's luxuries and have come to desire them. To Whites who are used to their own ways, it is hard to believe that Indians don't envy them. To Whites, their own "advantages" appear obvious. Yet many Indians prefer their own "advantages" and wouldn't trade with Whites if they could.

Facts and attitudes such as these find no obvious expression in ordinary language—because we all tend to use the same words without stopping to examine what each word actually means to all parties.

Although many of us who read Humpty-Dumpty's discussion of words in "Alice Through the Looking Glass" were delicately amused at the absurdity of his assertions —he really was expressing the attitude most of us have about words. Do you remember his conversation with Alice? It goes:

"I don't know what you mean by 'glory,' " Alice said.

Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't—till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!' "

"But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument,' " Alice objected.

"When *I* use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

Humpty Dumpty was exaggerating of course—but when we use words we, also, really intend that they shall mean just what we want them to mean. However the meanings of words change—change for each of us, as our experiences expand—and change in the use to which they are put in common speech.

As the tempo of life changes, new words appear, and old words gain new meanings. Some words take on desirable emotional tinges and gain in use, while other equally good words acquire a less desirable flavor and are discarded or reserved for less polite conversation.

However, words are seldom used out of context. We tend to give them a setting, and as we do so, we may more successfully transmit the tone of what we say. Our choice of adjectives or adverbs sometimes gives us away more effectively than our direct statements.

Sometimes, of course, it must be recognized that we choose words which are vague because we don't wish to make ourselves understood—or because we wish to be understood one way by certain people, and another way by others.

However, most of the time we are trying to communicate ideas—and often we fail to do so because we aren't sensitive to the difference in meaning which others put upon our speech, and the only cure for the condition is to attempt to find out just what the other fellow thinks we said, and if he didn't understand what we attempted to say—make another effort to clarify our meaning.

Strange as it may seem, that appears to be something which many of us don't like to do. It often appears that we don't want to find out when a misunderstanding has occurred—for we many times persist in repeating the thing that has caused confusion, as though by saying it over or by saying it louder we could impress *our* meaning on words which convey something quite different to our listeners.

Why not make a practice of trying to figure out the meaning which others with whom we associate attach to certain words—and, if we have much occasion to talk with them, adopt their understanding or endeavor to help them to an expanded meaning of the term which will include our own use of it.

After all, Indian Service teachers or employees have the burden of understanding or making themselves understood. We have no right to retreat behind our own meanings and allow confusion to grow up, if we can avoid it. At best, language will continue to be a difficult tool for the promotion of understanding, but it is the best we have and we should try to use it with the utmost discrimination and sensitivity.

4. TWO LANGUAGES BETTER THAN ONE

THE problems attendent upon the introduction of written forms of native Indian languages on those of our reservations where English is not universally known bear, no doubt, many similarities to those encountered by the early European proponents of literary forms of the "vulgar" languages. It has not been many years since the use of native languages was forcibly discouraged in government schools, and native dialects were often held up to ridicule as unworthy of a place in competition with the "perfections" of English. So also did the defenders of Latin argue against the proposed replacement of this "most perfect language" by the crude and decadent speech of the people. The fact that more people could become literate in the languages they spoke daily than in the dead or moribund Latin was considered irrelevant. Many graduates of the older type government school are still reticent in speaking or explaining their native languages in the presence of foreigners, for they were taught to be ashamed of their tribal speech. The White teachers are not to be too strongly blamed, however, for they were no doubt sincere in their belief that by completely forgetting native forms of speech the children could and would be more thoroughly "civilized" and better able to cope with the world after their school careers were finished.

Under the present administration the native languages have come to be recognized, not as encumbrances and impediments to the progress of the native peoples, but as definite tools already at hand to be fitted in many ways into the educational program. Despite the claims to the contrary by those of the old school, the fact remained that on the Navaho Reservation, for example, the vast majority of the people were either illiterate, or read the English language after the fashion of parrots—pronouncing the words without understanding their meaning. Those few who had really become proficient in our tongue, and who had delved into the wealth of knowledge contained in our libraries, wanted to change their brethren over night. So great was, and still is, their zeal that they are unwilling to merely guide their people step by step along the road, of progress. They would hurdle all obstacles, and reach the end of that road in one great leap.

These individuals are no doubt perfectly sincere in their beliefs, too. If they themselves accomplished it, then the whole tribe should be able to emulate them. However, we know that people do not usually change their ways of living and thinking by merely being convinced, verbally, of the superiority of a new way of life. There are limits to the faculty of imagination and the ability to understand that which is totally foreign and unrelated to the local environment. Mr. Einstein, in attempting to explain his theory of relativity to Hastiin Yázhí, would find himself in the same quandary as the well traveled penguin who returned to the South Pole and tried to explain the scorched earth policy to his more provincial brethren. It is practically impossible to describe the world of vision to one born totally blind, and similarly it is not easy to picture the White man's mechanistic society to the naturalistic Amerindian. The latter must come to understand, and choose what he desires from White culture and this he can not be expected to accomplish in one day, nor in one generation, but only with many generations. The Indian should be no more ashamed of his heritage than we are of our own. After all, a few centuries peeled from our "civilization" change its complexion enormously.

The Indian, as well as many Whites, unable to discern the forest for the trees, feels that acquisition of the White man's language is tantamount to taking on his civilization. Disappointment results from the fact that the children do not learn everything there is to know during their brief school career. Actually, the child often needs the first eight years, or even more, of his school life to master a sufficiently large English vocabulary to provide him with a key to the knowledge locked within the pages of the library books. The child knows but one language when he starts to school, and must learn the new language, not in terms of the old, but as something entirely apart from it. Imagine the difficulty one of our children would encounter if he were to be placed in a Syrian school. How long would the child have to remain there before acquiring the ability to read, write and speak Arabic well enough to feel at home in the library? On the other hand, the child's progress might have been greatly accelerated by books which taught him Arabic, the unknown, in terms of English, the known. This constitutes the answer to the oft posed question, why do you teach Indian languages when we want our children to learn English? To facilitate and accelerate the learning of the English language is one of the major purposes of the language program.

The works of Homer, the Vedic Hymns, the Hebrew Creation Myths and many others of the same type have long been treasured by us as highly valuable literature.

All of them were long ago passed orally from generation to generation, and their origins are lost in antiquity. Only the introduction of writing made possible their accurate preservation for posterity. The songs, the poetry and the legends of our native Indians are certainly not less attractive, nor are they greatly different from those songs, poems and legends of the Hellenes, the Hindus or the Semites. Yet, as time passes, more and more of them are being lost with the death of this or that medicine man who failed to pass them on to a successor. With a written language many, if not all, of these would no doubt be permanently preserved.

When the use of native languages in written form is first introduced into reservation schools the reaction of teachers is often tragicomical. Many look upon native speech as too difficult to even attempt. Phonologically and grammatically they appear, and in most respects they actually are, extremely difficult for foreigners. The ease with which we learn such languages as Spanish, German, French, Latin, etc., is largely due to the wealth of analogies and similarities that exist between those idioms and English. The vast differences between such languages and those found on the Indian Reservations seem unsurmountable barriers, and we tend to give up even before we start.

In English we are accustomed to express our verbs, adverbs, nouns and pronouns as separate and distinct words, each having a definite position with relation to the other within the sentence. This is *our* way of patterning our thought-expression. It represents *our* viewpoint. When we study a foreign language in school we may find that the subject of the verb is expressed pronominally by an element within or attached to the verb itself. Thus we learn that Spanish hablo means I talk, habl*amos*, we talk, habl*an*, they talk, etc. We think of the verb system as quite simple after a short period of study, and soon we are able to fit our thoughts into another language. At first we experience difficulty because we are used to only the English "angle" but with practice we cease to attempt literal translations, and gradually we become accustomed to patterning our thoughts after *either* of the two manners, with equal facility. It is a relatively easy accomplishment in the case of a sister language.

In learning Navaho or Sioux, however, we are called upon to reshape our pattern of thinking far more radically, for these languages are too entirely different from our own to permit an easy readjustment of our thought and expression habits. We find that we cannot merely bend the old mold into the newly required shape, but we must acquire a distinctly different type of mold in which to cast our thoughts. The phonology of Spanish was not too hard. It took us a few days to learn to roll our r's and pronounce a jota, but practice was very encouraging. We had little difficulty in discovering the positions of the various speech organs in producing the new sounds, for there were few that differed radically from analogous sounds in our own language.

But Navaho, for example, presents entirely new problems. There we find many sounds that defy imitation. We cannot even discover how nor where they are produced, and as we flounder hopelessly, to the amusement of native speakers, we rapidly become discouraged.

We are used to distinguishing between he, she, and it on the basis of gender, and such a distinction seems not only natural but indispensable to clear speech. It requires considerable familiarity with such a language as Navaho before we discover that the distinction is not really necessary at all.

English distinguishes between one and more than one, with respect to number, and the noun as well as the verb may have a special form for singular and for plural. Thus "the bird *is* flying," "the birds *are flying*." Navaho distinguishes between one, two and more than two (singular, dual, and plural). Sometimes the verb exhibits a distinct stem for each of the three numbers as yigááŁ, he is walking along; yi'ash, they (two) are walking along; yikah, they (more than two) are walking along. More often plurality (more than two) is expressed as a distributive, indicated by an affix *da*. Thus tsídii naat'a', the bird is flying, or the (two) birds are flying; tsídii ndaat'a', the birds (more than two) are flying (each of them is performing the act).

In English we say "the door of my father's house." In Spanish we learn to say "La puerta de la casa de mi padre (the door of the house of my father)", and in Navaho we must say "shizhé'é bighan bich'é'étiin (my-father his-home its-exit)". Further, we find that the same form "bizhé'é," translates "his father, her father, its father, or their father," as the context requires. If we have studied Spanish and learned that "su padre" does not distinguish the gender of the third person possessor we will find acceptance of the Navaho form easier.

Categories of verbal expression such as mood, aspect, voice, tense and the like differ enormously between Navaho and English. So adequate does our own system seem to us that we often tend to presuppose that all other languages possess either the same identical system, or one very closely allied to ours. In English we say "I am eating" and in Spanish we can say "yo estoy comiendo." Thus, we may reason, Navaho must have a word corresponding to "I," one to "am" and another to "eating." If we are so grossly mistaken as this, our success in teaching and explaining English to our classes will be minimized, for our explanations will be made from a point of view entirely unknown and incomprehensible to the Navaho speaking child. The Navaho merely says "'ashą́". This does not go to show, as a few still imagine, that Indian languages are too rudimentary to express fine distinctions in speech. It merely demonstrates that the Navaho has a different point of view—a different thought and linguistic expression pattern. If we pick the Navaho word "'ashą́" apart we find that the first syllable is composed of 'a-, representing the object, here indefinite, of the transitive verbal concept "eat" (one cannot *eat* without eating *something)*, in combination with the first person subject pronoun -sh-, I, and ą́, imperfective stem form of the verb "eat."

To attempt to teach English grammar by having the children copy synopses of verbs, after the fashion of those to be found in the appendices of foreign language grammars, is of little value.

Navaho often more or less loosely combines into a single word what English would express by several separate words. For example, "dabizaadígíík'ehgo" would be freely translated as "according to their respective languages." If we break the word down into its component parts we will find: da-, distributive (plural); -bi-. their: -zaad-, (possessed form of saad), speech, word, language; -ígíí, that which (is), the particular one(s), the; -k'eh-, according to, after the manner of; -go, here an adverbializing element analogous to the English suffix -ly on such a word as "clear-ly."

Again, in Navaho, no such clear distinction is made, as in the case of English, between such concepts as "go" "come" "start" "arrive;" or "carry" "bring" "give" "put" "take" "take out" "place" "set down" "lose" and the like. The ideas denoted by these separate English verbs find adequate expression, but by altering the adverbial affixes rather than the verb itself. In English one *goes* from the starting point and "*comes, arrives* or *gets*" to his destination. Navaho níyá could translate either go or come. With regard to the second group above ("carry" "bring" etc) the Navaho verb stem refers merely to "handling" the object—*how* it is handled, whether carried, lifted, set down, brought, given, etc. is expressed by adverbial or modal affixes which precede the verb stem. Further, Navaho classifies objects "handled" according to shape, size, number and other physical characteristics. The verb stem (perfective) -'ą́ would be used in speaking of a hat, book, box, rock or other bulky object. Thus ch'íní'ą, I carried it out; nídįi'ą, I picked it up, found it; ní'ą́ I carried, brought it; ní' niní'ą, I set it down; yah 'íí'ą, I put it in; naa ní'ą, I gave it to you; dziLts' aní'ą, I took it out of the fire, I took it out of the water, etc. In each case the verb stem -'ą́, remains unchanged, but the elements prefixed to the stem alter the meaning. If the objects of the verb were plural in number, as several hats, books, rocks, babies etc. the stem -nil would replace -'ą́. If the objects were plural separable things such as kernels of corn, shot, berries, etc. the stem would be -jaá. If the objects were flat and flexible like a sheet of paper, the stem would be -tsooz, and if long and stiff such as a stick or even a cigaret, it would be -tą́. Verbs denoting "chewing" vary the stems according to whether the object of the verb is of the type represented by meat, berries, an orange, mush, etc., and likewise the English word "fall" is translated by several forms in Navaho according to the shape, consistency, quantity etc. of the object.

A thick book would be required to set down all the differences between Navaho and English. The languages are as different as our respective societies. The White teacher is, therefore, quite justified in maintaining that Indian languages are too difficult for her to master with ease. They are obviously not simple. To acquire even a rudimentary knowledge of them requires a great deal of time and effort. *But what is the position of the Indian child upon entering school?* If the White teacher finds it next to impossible to readjust her speech habits to the Navaho way, is it not possible that the Navaho finds it equally hard to learn the English language? English is no doubt as hard for the Navaho as Navaho is for the White person. When the teacher learned Spanish she learned it in terms of her own native language. She learned that "hombre" *means* "man," "mujer," "woman," "dormir," "to sleep" etc. In other words she learned the unknown in terms of the known. The Navaho child often has to try to learn the unknown *in terms of the unknown*. He learns to pronounce the word "almost" long before he discovers that it means the same thing as "k'asdą́ą́' ". It would seem apparent, therefore, that Navaho children could better learn English words in terms of Navaho.

As far as the White teacher is concerned, the difficulties presented by the Navaho language need not impede her from using it to advantage. The more she knows of its structure, the better equipped will she be to explain the English language in terms that will be readily understood, but actually she needs only to learn to *pronounce* Navaho words in order to assist her class. By means of a bilingual primer she can teach her pupils to pronounce the words of a sentence and learn their individual and collective meaning at the same time. She can teach them to read "This is my father" and by reading the Navaho sentence beneath it, "Díí shizhé'é 'át'é" to the children, she can teach them that English "this" and Navaho "díí" mean the same, English "my father" and Navaho "shizhé'é", English "is" and Navaho " 'át'é."

We have already stated that Navaho phonology is difficult for the English speaking person, but we ascribed this difficulty largely to the utter strangeness of the sounds, and inability to discover how they are produced. A small amount of instruction with a few hours of supervised practice in reading simple Navaho texts has proven very successful. When the difficult sounds are described and explained, the teacher has little difficulty in imitating them. Practice improves her pronunciation rapidly, and her increased knowledge of native phonology makes it possible for her to diagnose and correct the speech defects characteristic of Navaho children learning English.

She learns why her pupils pronounce such words as bob and pop, tick and dick, gig and kick with little or no distinction. She realizes that Navaho uses neither b nor p, with their English values. The sound written b in Navaho orthograhy is in reality an unaspirated p—a "hard b" so to speak, something like the p in English "spot." The English speaking person mishears and mispronounces Navaho b, now as English b, and again as English p. The Navaho mishears and mispronounces both English b and p as his own peculiar b-sound. The same is true of the sounds represented in written Navaho as g and d. The former sounds like the k in "sky;" the latter like the t in "sty." Once the teacher is aware of these factors she can point them out to the children, and their pronunciation can be readily improved.

In teaching an adult Navaho to read his own language, one obviously does not have to teach him Navaho. He already knows how to speak his language. His problem is one of merely transferring the skills of reading and writing, which he learned in school, to his own language. The spelling of Navaho is according to the sounds of the language, so the same sound or group of sounds is always represented by the same symbol. Even people who have never gone to school can learn to read and write in their own language.

On the whole, the teachers in Navaho schools have lost their fears and misgivings with regard to the use of the native language, and have put it to use in their classrooms with highly encouraging results. Many have become so proficient in reading the language that they are essaying its use in adult education with great success. People in remote areas of the Reservation are welcoming written Navaho and some have even gone so far as to request that all forms, regulations, and papers pertaining to the Navaho be written in the Navaho language, in order that when the Indians are called upon to sign a paper they may know precisely what it is that they are signing. There is every reason to believe that writing will spread among the Navaho just as it spread among all the other people to whom it has been introduced.

Material, ranging from bilingual primers to collections of native stories, translations of such works as ROBINSON CRUSOE and WAR WITH THE AXIS as well as many others have been, or are being prepared for distribution, and more material will be produced as rapidly as possible. It is our hope that the Navaho themselves will ultimately become the authors, and the "language program" will pass from our hands into theirs, to serve their needs until such time as they may no longer have need for it.

—*Young*

11.

UTILIZING REGIONAL RESOURCES

1. HUMAN ENERGY ABOVE PRICE

WITH a degree of rapidity that is almost unbelievable it is being taken for granted in the United States, that modern life is only possible on a cash economy. Two or three generations ago members of our sternest pioneer stock would not have understood our meanings, had they met and talked with one of today's money-minded individuals. This nation was founded and its western empire conquered by men with little money but with a tremendous will to work, and in conquering the west these pioneers dispossessed a race of people who were comfortably self-sufficient without benefit of money. There is a "crack" in a recent magazine to the effect that many of us fail to recognize opportunity when we meet it, if it happens to have dirty hands and be wearing overalls; which may be another way of expressing the fact that our cash economy has permitted an improved standard of living for many persons, in the type of work which would have been thought of as parasitical several generations ago. The result of this emphasis on money is that we think of many projects for the improvement of human living solely in terms of their cash cost, ignoring completely that human effort and human reward are both things which it is impossible to express in terms of money.

The construction of the hillside terraces which have made the rice culture of the Orient possible, expressed in terms of cash values are economically unjustifiable—the expenditure per acre would far exceed the earning power of that acre in the commodity market, yet without those same terraces the teeming millions of the Orient could not live.

The story has been told that in some of the early soil conservation efforts on Indian areas of our Southwest, projects representing great variations in per acre cost were installed. The variation ran from a few cents an acre to several hundred dollars. Authorities higher up criticized the engineer responsible for one project on the ground that the more expensive constructions were unjustifiable economically. His reply was that from a dollar and cents standpoint all of the projects in that region were unjustified but that if the Indian inhabitants were not to be driven out by starvation, they themselves and not the government must apply to their lands some or all of the types of projects displayed. It was therefore for them and not for the government, to decide how much effort per acre the preservation of their home land was worth. To confound the higher ups it is reported that in many instances the Indians imitated the more expensive rather than the less expensive projects.

Most of us can remember a grandfather who had a shop in the basement or out in the barn where he puttered around in his "spare" time, making things for use around the home. Our antique shops, much affected by those who have substituted collecting things for making things, are full of handwrought dressers, tables, chairs, andirons and fire screens, to mention only a few of the hundreds of objects by which living was enriched as a result of such puttering. Unfortunately, few of us carry on the tradition, primarily because we have been taught that it is cheaper to buy such things than it is to make them.

How many of us have lost our scale of values and begun to set a price on our time that forbids us to do the many things that we would enjoy doing and which would make our homes more beautiful and more worth living in? Figuring it out on a dollar and cents basis we've come to believe that our time is worth so much that we can't afford to waste it in any form of activity which we could hire lesser persons to do for us. Despite the fact that we *could* hire them, we don't. We have the valuable time on our hands but we don't have its equivalent in cash, and therefore we cheat ourselves and are the poorer because we have fallen so completely under the spell of our wage economy.

From one end of the Indian country to the other (and one need not limit this observation to the Indian country) poor people can be seen sitting waiting for the Lord (or the government) to provide, while around them are acres of land which would support livestock or which if tilled and watered would grow foods or the materials for clothing. The land may not be very good, but the chief element that is lacking is human effort. We have so confused effort with money, that all stands idle for lack of the money to hire the work done.

We are so scornful of the primitive crooked stick which served as a plow throughout the history of mankind from the dawn of agriculture to the plantation of George Washington, that we psychologically encourage an Indian to sit with folded hands bemoaning his ill fortune, rather than have him work with anything short of a steel plow and a tractor to pull it. We are so scornful of the water carried in pots and tar-caulked baskets which kept alive the food plants of many a southwestern Indian tribe, that we teach our Indians to depend on surplus commodities from a generous government, rather than raise a garden that is not watered from a driven well or million dollar dam.

This is not to argue that the crooked stick is better than the iron plow, that the bucket on a woman's head is preferable to an irrigation system, but it is to argue that both are physically and spiritually superior to starvation or to stagnation. The Hopi, the Navaho, and the Papago chose for their homes, lands which to modern Americans are not only submarginal but desert. Yet by infinite pains they wrung from them a subsistence from which was stored a surplus ample to support them through several years of drouth, and still won leisure for the celebration of spiritual ceremonies and the creation of well-ordered homes and objects of beauty. And all of this was done without money or machines or tools of steel, in the lack of which civilized men stands bereft of initiative. More poisonous than all, because we find the winning of a livelihood in the face of such hardship too difficult to contemplate, we have attempted to corrupt the thinking of the Indians themselves and persuade them that the activities by which countless previous generations of Indians won their livelihood are too difficult for the modern Indian to undertake.

Money we have had in unusual generosity for the doing of many needed things to make the lot of the Indians more tenable in the midst of an industrial civilization, but we are undoubtedly facing a period when money for similar purposes will for a number of years be much scarcer. But with the scarceness of money, there will be no diminution in the reservoir of human energy, which is the Indian people themselves. In the years just ahead of us we face the crucial question; in the absence of money to do needed things, will we permit Indians to starve or to go on relief rather than go out and work—work hard, and with less than the most modern of tools, for the creation through their own efforts of the raw materials of food, clothing, and shelter and for the facilities which will make possible the education of their children?

Those who assume that in an industrialized society money is all powerful and that without money a nation or a culture faces dissolution, have not learned the primary lesson of the present war which finds the entire world embattled against the most powerful military machine which history has yet seen. This machine was brought into being through the labor and sacrifice of a nation of people, which 15 years ago was economically bankrupt, which had no money in the sense in which we think of money; which had no resources in the sense in which we think of resources, which lacked foreign markets, raw materials, credit and all of the elements which we think of as making the United States or Britain strong. Germany has substituted ersatz or synthetic materials for natural materials at an economically unjustified, even fantastic, cost, but through the labor of men has produced these in large enough quantities to compete with the natural. The parallel might be pursued,—but the lesson is one and the same. It isn't money, it isn't wages. It is the capacity and willingness to invest human energy that has succeeded in the face of impossible odds. We people of the United States have allowed our respect for money to outweigh our recognition of the fact that human effort and human will existed before money and may perpetuate the race after money ceases to be important.

2. CHOOSING CATTLE TO FIT THE COUNTRY

FOUR Brown Swiss bulls were purchased early in 1940 by the Education Division for distribution to the day school communities of the Eastern Cherokee Reservation. The Cherokee Indians possess a great many dairy cattle of such poor quality as to scarcely justify their keep. Brown Swiss were selected as being ideal for this area because: They are by environment and breeding suited to mountainous country. Their reputed yield of milk and butterfat on scant feed fits into the type of farming practiced better than other breeds. Their ability to produce calves which will fatten more economically meets the demand for veal and later beef. Their suitability as work animals (steer or ox) will furnish power on the small farms of the Cherokee Indians.

These bulls were of the best breeding and possessed good dairy conformation. An effort was made to encourage local farmers to make use of these animals for breeding purposes and also to give their cattle better care and attention.

Work at the school dairy, which at that time comprised pure and grade Holstein cattle, encouraged boys to desire calves of that breed for club purposes. To reinforce the Brown Swiss program, it was decided to head the herd with one of the new bulls and make a gradual transformation to grade Swiss cattle. In the course of time this experiment will serve to demonstrate the value of a herd sire in producing heifers of greater milk producing ability and also encourage the introduction of the new breed into the community.

A great deal of prejudice on the part of cattle owners against trying anything new must be overcome and several years must pass before concrete results may be obtained. Three purebred Brown Swiss heifers were obtained for use at the school dairy to hasten the change. A number of the crossbred calves possess very good dairy conformation and serve to demonstrate what good care and feeding will do.

At the day schools, great interest has been taken in the program and a majority of the cattle owners have taken advantage of the opportunity to breed their cows to these bulls. In both Soco and Birdtown there are a few heifers from this cross already bred and it is the general belief that in a few years Brown Swiss cattle will be the predominating breed in this section. It is believed that the introduction of these bulls will be an asset which will run into great value as time passes, and add to the economic well-being of the Cherokee Indians.

—*Mathiesen*

3. PLAN BEFORE YOU IRRIGATE

IRRIGATION is a science, not merely a pouring on of water. The great extension of irrigation opportunities which has taken place in the Indian Service in the last few years has greatly increased the number of people who without previous experience are being called upon to make intelligent use of such supplemental water and to instruct their Indian neighbors in its efficient use. The mistakes which have characterized past use of irrigated land indicates the need for a careful consideration of irrigation practices both by people who are beginning to use irrigation and by those who have depended on it for many years.

The Farmer's Irrigation Guide*, a compilation of modern experience with irrigation methods recently issued by the Reclamation Service offers much practical help to those engaged in laying out the new irrigation tracts for the Indian Service. In fact there is sufficient new material included in this bulletin to make it important reading for those operating on the lands where irrigation has been practiced for many years. This is especially true where traditional methods have resulted in washing, leaching, and hence a general decrease in productivity and efficiency.

The bulletin contains a number of line drawings, graphs, and plans for homemade equipment, and about twenty-five excellent photographs. These latter are so excellent as to tell a story in themselves with little dependence on the text—therefore being of great value in helping individuals who read with difficulty. Moreover, the easy vocabulary and simple sentence structure further increase its usefulness.

Irrigation problems as discussed in this bulletin may be organized under seven subheads: (1) examining the soil; (2) grading the field; (3) irrigating the farm; (4) determining the moisture; (5) building up the soil; (6) anchoring the soil; and, (7) experimenting.

Soil is made up of layers. Some may be of clay, sand, or gravel. Sub-soil layers may contain soluble salts or alkali. Whatever the sub-soil conditions are, knowledge of them is necessary to *determine the right use of soil and water.* Any farmer can find out his sub-soil conditions; all he has to do is to dig a hole and examine the successive layers of soil. The bulletin tells how.

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* The Farmer's Irrigation Guide Conservation Bulletin No. 2, Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, Division of Operation and Maintenance—Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939.

Except in those spots where examination shows sand, gravel, and hardpan close to the surface the field should be graded. The ground can be harrowed, or if too hard to harrow, plowed and the loosened soil leveled off with a home-made leveler float. How to do this and replace the plant foods lost when the top soil was moved is illustrated and described.

There are three good systems of irrigation; the corrugation or furrow system, the border or flood system, and the ridge or bed system. The topography and soil conditions suitable to each type are clearly described, and diagrams and photographs show how to install the system chosen.

An oversupply of water is bad for three reasons: It leaches plant food out of the soil; it drowns crops when they have to stand in water; and, it washes away top soil. How this may be avoided is explained, and controls to use to avoid soil erosion, water-wasting and leaching and to distribute and regulate the flow of water are illustrated.

A farmer needs a quick way of finding how well the water is penetrating. Two moisture probes to be used for this purpose are shown and their use described.

All the water in the world will not grow good crops without plant food in the soil. If other conditions are right and production is not holding up, plant food is lacking and must be supplied.

The bulletin contains a chart on page 33 showing the plant-food requirements of five species, from alfalfa to small grains. On page 34 and 35 various types of green manure are discussed. Hubam clover, for example, is desirable because of its slow growth.

Trees for windbreaks, and strip farming, help to keep soil from blowing away. Listing is also effective. Where grain or alfalfa is seeded in windy areas, the corrugation or furrow system of irrigating will also provide a rough field surface which lessens erosion.

"Every farm should have its own experiment station"—a small plot of land where green manures, fertilizers and methods of irrigation and cultivation are tried. "Soils are different. The farmer is the doctor of the soil on his farm. He should learn what the patient needs to keep it healthy."—*Hulsizer*

4. SQUAW CORN

AMONG the outstanding contributions of the Indians are those which have been made to modern argriculture. Maize is especially important throughout many of the agricultural communities of this country. Maize is the agricultural back-log of the hog and steer feeding system in the central part of the United States. In Iowa and Illinois, hybrid dent corns have been developed which are now in use in many neighboring areas. The versatility of these varieties has led people to overlook the fact that the native Indian types adapted to a particular region are still the most successful in that region. "In New England the flint corns obtained from the early settlers are still the main dependence. * * * The permanency of Indian varieties is also true in New York." [1]

In fact the Indians not only contributed a *maize plant* but a great number of varieties of maize and other plants adapted by long years of selection to a great variety of regions and climates. Before Columbus landed dent, flint, flour, sweet and pop-corn were grown practically everywhere. [2] It is important to note that the Hopi corn with its short stalk and deep-growing roots was especially adapted to the Hopi environment, while along the Missouri corn was grown which resisted drouth and matured in a short growing season. [2] These adaptations took place over long periods of years and included such remarkable developments as that of the Cuzco corn of Peru which grew at altitudes of eight and ten thousand feet while on the shores of Lake Titicaca a pigmy variety of maize was produced at still higher altitudes.

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[1] Hyde and Will—Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri—Introduction, Wm. Harvey Miner Co., Inc., St. Louis, Mo., 1917 also Will, Geo. Francis—Corn for the Northwest, St. Paul, Minn., Webb Publishing Co., 1930.

The persistence on the arid plains of the several varieties of native maize called "squaw corn" [3] demonstrates their superiority in this environment to commercial varieties developed by Whites and annually imported from Minnesota or Iowa. As settlers travelled farther west on the North American continent they took the grains from the east with them. Reed's yellow dent-long, an important variety in the middle west was the result of a cross of eastern corn with yellow squaw corn in Illinois. When the next wave of agricultural settlers moved out on the arid plains west of the Missouri the desire for the kind of corn they had back home led to continued attempts to use the yellow dent corn from Minnesota, Iowa, and farther east.

In contrast the Indians of the Teton-Dakota, especially the Minnaconjou and the Oglala on Pine Ridge in the 1850's and 60's, while not much interested in farming, adopted the Ree [4] corn, already growing in those areas when they moved to the Dakotas. In other words, the Indians in a new neighborhood secured seed already successfully developed by their predecessors in the region. Squaw corn adapted to certain regions still persists and produces in these regions under severe conditions when other corn fails.

What are the characteristics of squaw corn which have enabled it to endure so persistently? The most obvious characteristic of the surviving types of squaw corn is the short growing season. Certain varieties mature in 71 days. Squaw corn in western South Dakota is planted late in April or early in May. Frost comes before the middle of September. The fact of importance is, however, the rapidity of development during the early part of the growing season. This insures (1) sufficient maturity to resist grasshopper attack; (2) sufficient development to ward off serious damage by the "burn-up" of late July and early August; and, furthermore, the seed of the short season varieties, some experiences indicate, are most resistant to mildew and rot from the cold, wet weather in early spring.

These desirable factors have undoubtedly been brought about through careful selection for seed purposes of ears from the plants which have most successfully resisted adverse conditions in the particular area where they are grown. Retention for seed purposes of the ears from the hardiest, most prolific, earliest ripening stocks, is most likely to provide seed suited to the adverse conditions of a region. Such selection year by year should tend to a continuous improvedent of the seed in terms of these necessary characteristics. Seed commercially purchased, even within the same state, if produced in areas differing widely in rainfall, altitude, or latitude and longitude, is offen not so sure of success as the local variety.

Since early maturity is an important characteristic for corn in western North and South Dakota and eastern Montana, squaw corn seed should continue to be selected for this character. Anyone interested in developing the best type of corn for an area should select for seed the ears from plants which show maturity earliest in the spring. The stalks so selected should then be marked. If complete ripening indicates the first choice was wise the ears when harvested should be carefully protected in a dry place safe from rats, mice or other predatory or domestic animals.

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[2] p. IX—Bibliographical Contributions, U. S. Dept. of Agri. No. 23 (Ed. 2) Everett E. Edwards, June 1933.

[3] By squaw corn is meant any of the species, sweet, flint, or flour which are grown by Indians in various localities from seed from their own fields; i. e., not purchased from another climatic region. Flint has the advantage of having a higher protein content but a flour corn is not to be despised. Types of squaw corn have succeeded when local and hybrid imported flint corns have failed.

[4] Ree—Arickara.

A number of interesting experiments with native maize are being carried on in various regions of the Indian country.[5] To cite a few: During a recent year at Jones Academy in Oklahoma several of the farm boys bought seed for squaw corn from an Otoe who persisted in the use of his native variety. Others purchased seed from a Choctaw who was also growing native corn. From this squaw corn grew stalks more than eight feet tall, producing fine roasting ears. One of the plots devoted to squaw corn was windward of some field corn, and there was some cross fertilization, but the stand was more than six feet high. Seed from this latter patch was used by some of the Choctaw neighbors of the school, who in turn planted it, and secured roasting ears which they reported as better and sweeter than commercial corn. The squaw corn has done so well at Jones Academy that selected seed from these projects is being distributed to the special Indian day schools in the Cherokee country for further experimentation. Larger areas this year will be devoted to planting selected seed from the areas devoted to squaw corn during the last two years.

At one of the day schools on the Pine Ridge reservation squaw corn was planted on land which could not be irrigated. This corn made rapid growth and was partly in tassel before the moisture of the spring and early summer was exhausted. Grasshoppers attacked the garden about the middle of July. Young onions and carrots were eaten down into the ground. The garden was stripped bare except for the Squaw corn which the grasshoppers did not touch. About the middle of July water stood on the garden several days, and most of the potatoes rotted, but the hardy squaw corn was unhurt either in stalk or ear. A splendid crop was harvested. The corn was planted on land along the creek. There probably is sub-irrigation to some extent but seed corn purchased from a Minnesota seed-house planted on similar land in the same locality was a complete failure. At the suggestion of the reservation superintendent the squaw corn which matured was saved entirely for seed. It was hoped that this seed might then produce on the first bench above the creek. Only the more hardy seed is expected to mature. However, even a small crop will be welcome, for it should be extra hardy, extra drought- and extra heat-resistant. Seed selected from this area, therefore, will probably grow under still more difficult conditions.—*Hulsizer*

5. BREEDING TO MEET THE NEED

THROUGHOUT the Dakota areas the problem of subsistence is an important one. It is generally accepted that the raising of cattle is probably the best economic use to which the great grass areas can be put, but cattle do not provide all subsistence needs. Irrigated gardens have been developed wherever permanent streams are found, but there are other areas which invite human habitation but which lack a continuous flow of water adequate for irrigation. Where the drought has been severe, it has become apparent that most vegetation imported from milder and more favorable climates will not survive the typical Dakota summer of the last decade.

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[5] Many state colleges of agriculture in this region are carrying on experiments with corn which might furnish interesting information and suggestive procedures.

The case is far from hopeless, however. The federal government at its Mandan experiment station has imported and domesticated a number of trees from the dry areas of Europe and Asia. Through selection it has also domesticated and improved the fruit bearing qualities of a number of native trees and shrubs of the Great Plains which are themselves drought resistant. Through the same process of selection, a number of native vegetables have also been improved and appear suited to these dry areas where spots can be found which enjoy a small amount of sub-irrigation. It is easy to forget that the Indians originally inhabiting this area raised maize and beans. The Mandan tribe which gave its name to an excellent bean, is only one example.

Some experimentation with the planting of drought resisting fruit bearing shrubs and trees and of native or acclimated vegetables, has been carried on at some of the day schools at Pine Ridge and Rosebud, with surprising success. Windbreaks of imported varieties of trees and shrubs have also been planted at some points, and the success so far achieved indicates that many day school centers as well as Indian homes may be greatly improved by an extension of this type of planting. Kaffir corn, cane, and 60 day milo maize, are among the grains imported from other countries which have proved their ability to withstand some of the most adverse weather conditions of the Dakota area.

This experimentation at the day schools indicates that a significant contribution of subsistence materials for the Indians of the Great Plains area may be obtained through further cultivation of these fruits, grains and vegetables. They need to be planted in areas where there is some form of sub-irrigation, such as lowlands along the creeks, hollows at the base of circling hills, and in positions where drifting snow during the winter will be caught and held by their stalks so as to supply moisture in early spring.

In seeking fruit trees, bush fruit and vegetable seeds for use in these areas, it is well to remember that the stocks must be secured from a nursery which has specialized in drought-resisting plants which mature in a short growing season. Nurseries are recommended which have secured their initial stocks from or followed the procedures of the United States Experiment Station at Mandan, North Dakota. And it is advised that their recommendations be followed with regard to time of planting, type of location, and early care.

Experimentation with stock from several nurseries in various parts of the plains area by day schools at both Pine Ridge and Rosebud has amply justified the emphasis on Mandan stock. At one day school on Pine Ridge where 100 trees secured from North Dakota, were planted one year, only one was lost. These had some water during midsummer, carried by hand. However, at two day schools, one on Pine Ridge, and the other on Rosebud, a high percentage of the trees from North Dakota pulled through without irrigation of any kind. In these cases the test was more severe than had been intended, due to a change in personnel which resulted in the trees being neglected. The previous year, stock of a less well selected type was completely lost.

After trees have been selected, how to plant and when to plant must receive consideration. Wild plum in the plains area always grows in clumps. Nurseries advise that some of the domesticated fruits should be planted in the same way. Early planting in the spring is essential. Here and there trees planted in February and in the fall have had success. Further experimentation as to the times and methods of planting is needed.

Most successful of the fruits domesticated from native stocks are the plums and sand cherries. The *Opata plum* is a cross between sand cherry and gold plum. The fruit is a dark red with a blue bloom. The flesh of the fruit is a fresh green with a delicious flavor. The fruit ripens in mid-August.

The *Waneta plum* is another hardy variety developed at the U. S. Station at Mandan. It is a heavy bearer and produces the largest fruit of any of the *hardy* plums. The fruit ripens in mid-season and is of excellent flavor.

The *Compass cherry* is delicious both for sauce and jelly. It ripens in August or a bit earlier. This variety is hardy throughout the Canadian and American northwest. Another of the selected, improved sand cherries is the *Tom Thumb*. The fruit is very pleasant to eat. The tree bears early and heavily. These trees are very hardy, but should be planted closely.

The *Dolga apple* (crab apple) while not a native Indian fruit, nevertheless gives evidence of adaptability in *drought* areas, and it is exceptionally fine for jelly. The trees themselves are hardy and heavy producers.

A number of the native trees which have not been selected or bred for improved fruits nevertheless have merit in the certainty of the crop. It is often worth while to secure such stock from a nursery since the added root development insures a tree which will survive. A tree out of the canyon may be just as good if it can be be induced to live. These fruits are the native wild plum, the sand cherry, the thorn apple, the buffalo berry, the native gooseberry and the chokecherry.

Among the shelter belt trees which have been successful at Mandan as windbreaks and by experience on the reservations, are the Russian olive, the Siberian pea tree, the green ash and box elder. When planted early these tree have survived grasshoppers, summer heat and drought.

It must be remembered that it takes years to acclimate trees or vegetables in a new area. North Dakota nurseries have led the field in vegetable breeding also. Because most vegetables are annuals, and one plants with a view to a generous crop, a small yield is liable to be discouraging. However, this need not be so. For example if only a few plants of the *Great Northern* (the Mandan bean) survive the first year, it may be assumed that these few represent a strain which is unusually drought-resistant. If the seed from these is saved for planting the next year, it is entirely probable that a much larger number will live. By the third year the strain should be fairly adapted to the soil and climatic conditions and seed taken from the plot should produce even more richly thereafter.

Millet's *Dakota* tomato is the hardiest and most drought-resistant produced in this area. The *Bison* tomato is also recommended, and it may be well to experiment with both by selecting and saving seed from the plants which have borne most profusely.

The *Arikara* squash also tends to outyield all others under drought conditions. Here again plants which actually produce should be carefully selected and the seed saved for planting another year. No list of this kind can be all-inclusive. Year by year as agricultural classes conduct new experiments, save their seed and replant, and make reports of progress, new information will add to and take away from our list.

When seeds and plants are selected with nursery and seed house catalogs in the hands of the students, and when later the students plant the seeds they order, or the seeds saved from the year before, with full knowledge of the varieties, of their valued characteristics, of the romance of man's control over plant life, the work connected with planting will be *work* but *interesting work*. When the teacher studies the catalog, orders the varieties and then instructs the pupils what and where to plant, the work is *drudgery*.

The selection and cultivation of adapted plants is one of the pillars of livelihood the world over. To neglect the *scientific* aspects of selection is as serious as to ignore the *practical* work which is necessary to raise a harvest. Both scientific study and practical work are needed.

Education means knowledge plus experience. How can a student experience in relation to the selection and breeding of plants unless he selects and saves seed in a program which has conserved the results of breeding year by year for five, ten, and even twenty, year periods, and unless along with the saving of selected seed goes a simple, intelligible record of the purpose and results of such seed selection.

Continued purchase of commercial seed destroys all of this opportunity for adaptation and improvement of stock. Modern man goes up a step in his standard of living, as man went from savagery to civilization, on a basis of better adapted, wisely selected, and carefully saved seed.—*Hulsizer*

6. AN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

THROUGHOUT the Indian Service there are some forty high schools, most of which are placing a great deal of emphasis upon a practical agricultural program which will enable the Indians to make the best use of their own assets in tribal or individual land. Many of these schools have developed an excellent program for the practical training of their young people. Other schools are still struggling with academic ideals inherited from the "universal program" of American public education, and are finding it difficult to launch a practical program in agriculture. One of many successful plans is that of the Uintah School in Utah outlined briefly yet simply, in the belief that it may serve as a stimulus to others.

The year's program is organized about activities aimed to train students to acquire a livelihood upon their own reservation. To accomplish this, the whole school plant is utilized as well as their farms and homes. Due to the excellent opportunities afforded on the reservation for stock and crop production and the lack of other means of obtaining a livelihood, it is believed that these people must eventually become agricutural. In past generations, due to the abundance of native foods, including game, the people lived well without cultivating the soil or carrying on any form of agriculture. They do so even yet, somehow. But as living conditions are rapidly changing, necessity will soon force the Indians to adopt the White man's methods of obtaining a livelihood.

The successful operation of the Uintah school plant with farm, garden, dairy, swine, and beef cattle, furnishes a laboratory, and the boys take part in all its operations. When school opens in the fall, the students help harvest and store the garden and farm corps. As cold weather comes on, they work in the shop. A detail of four boys each week is assigned to help the farmer. They milk cows and clean the dairy barn, feed and help butcher pigs, mend and construct fences, feed the beef cattle, and help with any miscellaneous tasks that come along.

In the shop work, in addition to learning the use and care of tools, the articles constructed are of the useful type usually asked for by the parents, such as benches, tables, wash-stands, ironing-boards, tool-chests, etc.

On the campus the boys mow the lawns, prune the trees and shrubs, help with the hotbed and later reset plants in the school garden. Many plants are taken home to become part of their own home garden plots.

Each year an attempt is made to put into effect the motto, "A Garden for Every Home;" and, judging from the eagerness shown in acquiring garden seed, this will prove true. Most of the boys who set out raspberry beds one year, enlarge the beds the following spring and often set out orchard trees and vineyards, the latter being grown from cuttings from the school nursery.

The 4-H Club work is progressing smoothly under the Extension Department. Students are permitted to use their annuity funds, and several of them through increases in their flocks from past purchases are acquiring a fairly good start toward subsistence herds, 100 head for each family being the number aimed at.

The members of the Beef Fattening Club, finish their baby beef for exhibition at the Inter-Mountain Junior Fat Stock Show held at Salt Lake City. Some of these animals are usually range calves selected from their own beef herds. With poles and posts brought down from the mountain, a feed yard with manger and shed was constructed. Careful records of weight, gains, and feed costs are kept.

With the beef herd maintained at the school and with a very slight cost of operation, the school is demonstrating what the Indian families may also accomplish with proper management.

From the above experiences it is expected that when the young men leave school they will go equipped with sufficient practical ideas of farm and stock management to succeed on their ranch homes. The school keeps in touch with these boys as well as those who have recently returned from non-reservation schools and does all that is possible to help them to adjust and get started in life.—*Composite statement.*

7. LET'S GROW OUR OWN PEACHES

THE older Indian Service boarding school of necessity operated a production farm and orchard. Established in the days before trains, trucks, and refrigerator service put Texas grapefruit, California oranges and Oregon apples on every grocery store counter, these schools had only the fruits and vegetables which could be raised on their own lands. And around many of the day schools, the teacher's garden was an example of nature's bounty in response to man's effort. New foods of richer variety were brought to the Indians, and they witnessed and often participated in the work of producing them. Let it not be thought that Indians are slow to profit from such examples. The Indians of the Southwest still find the peaches and other crops introduced by the Spaniards an important element in their diet, and the Navaho have become dependent on the sheep which were introduced, first by the Spanish and later renewed by the White Americans.

It has not been lack of Indian interest that has caused neglect of our orchards or abandonment of our vegetable gardens and which encouraged the Indians themselves to similar neglect. It has been the growing belief that money is a substitute for work, and that anything bought was better than anything made or raised at home.

In many of our schools it has been simpler to fill out an annual estimate of needed canned goods and dressed meats, than to raise fresh vegetables and fruits and dress out their own meat. And the purchased can has been less work to handle than the one filled at home.

So, lazy-man fashion, our orchards have been neglected, and until recently many of our gardens have grown up in weeds. Uncle Sam was rich, why should we go to all that unnecessary trouble? And in imitation of our schools and their employees, many Indian gardens have been neglected, too. Fresh peaches have given way to canned peaches, wherever they could be afforded.

Part of this mistake doubtless goes back to that period when agricultural advisers throughout the country were encouraging farmers to plant their farm gardens to the "cash crop," arguing that another acre of corn or cotton or whatever, would sell for more than the value of the garden crop, and that better and cheaper beef and bacon came out of Chicago or Kansas City than off the home hoof. It was a false philosophy then, and it is doubly false today. Throughout most of the farm country it has never been possible to buy at any store the variety and freshness of vegetables which could be grown on the home acre, and our farmers became rapidly the poorest-fed section of our population, seeking their sustenance in the vitamin-poor and unappetizing contents of cans. And as the home economics courses of the schools began to substitute for cooking learned in the home kitchen, the college trained teacher became the apostle of the can because it was easier.

And when overproduction of the "cash crop" staples automatically lowered the price ofttimes blow the cost of production—the farmer's home acre began to produce vastly less value than the food needs which the garden would have produced. But the habit of dependence on the farm garden for subsistence had been effectively destroyed. The litter of pigs, the flock of hens and sometimes even the family cow with her milk supply and occasional bull-calf for "vealing" had disappeared, for you can't feed livestock on cotton or some of the other standard "cash crops."

And so, without fully realizing the implications, our farm population had passed over completely from subsistence farmers who took advantage of a cash crop when the seasons and markets favored, to cash farmers wholly dependent on the sale of what they raised. When the depression came and factories closed, laying off wage workers who also had given up the back yard vegetable patch for Piggly-Wiggly on the corner, they were not alone in their need for soup kitchens. Farmers from one end of the country to the other found themselves with milk to bathe in and corn to rot on the stalks because it couldn't be sold for the cost of harvesting, while starving for the want of the fruits and vegetables which a decade before would have been found in the home garden. And children ran naked for want of clothes which a thrifty housewife of the preceding generation would have spun and woven from her own wool or cotton.

A false philosophy had pauperized the farmer, the while he still had all the essential elements which had made his father before him an independent self-supporting citizen. He had been taught to abandon his former dependence on the land as the source of his sustenance and treat it as a factory producing goods to sell for money, and when the money economy went screwy, he like the city worker, starved in the midst of potential plenty.

While it has been tough sledding for the White farmer, the abandonment of the home garden in the Indian Service has destroyed the basic essential of Indian self-sufficiency, for the Indian is not yet ready to participate successfully in a money economy. When he gave up subsistence farming or when he failed to undertake subsistence farming, he automatically became dependent on government relief.

So when the government school gave up its garden, its orchard and its small livestock, it did more than mistakenly substitute easily spent cash for hard work, it set an example of fundamental neglect of a primary resource which has been more far reaching than could have been anticipated. Indians who had no cash substitute for work, abandoned their gardens, too, and then sat around waiting for food to sprout from cans, without either cash or effort. And many times we've confirmed the full error of our teaching and given them the food for nothing, which they could have raised by working their own gardens.

The school farms and gardens are coming back. It is time to rehabilitate the orchards, too, and to give thought to establishing nurseries of orchard stock, so that Indians may be helped to plant a few trees and berry bushes around their homes. With the spread of orchard pests, the care of orchard trees has become more difficult. Some form of spraying will be indicated in the care of almost every fruit tree. But that is part of agricultural education and one of the prices of civilization.

Emphasis needs to be placed upon use of native stock and the introduction of improveed strains of native stock. In the Dakotas much can be done with chokecherry, and sand cherry, buffalo berry, plums, and other native fruits which have been improved through the efforts of the U. S. Experiment Station, Mandan, N. Dakota. The advantage of native stock is its adaptability to local climatic conditions. Natural selection has eliminated the less hardy varieties. This need not preclude the introduction of cultivated stock, but in selecting material for introduction, it is important to choose stock which has been developed under *more severe climatic* conditions, so that an entire orchard will not be lost by an unusually dry year, an unusually early frost or some other unexpected extreme brought about by natural variation in the climate cycle.

Let us grow more fruit! Bring back the school orchard!

8. LIVESTOCK BREEDING AT OGLALA

DURING 1938 a survey was made to determine what had happened to the students and graduates of the high schools of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations. The purpose of the survey was two-fold: (1) to find out whether the vocational program offered in these high schools was training boys and girls for successful employment after graduation and (2) to find the opportunities for employment or self-support open to the students or graduates of these schools within the area where they would live after graduation. The data collected showed:

(1) That over 95 per cent of the young Sioux returned from the various schools of the Indian Service to live on their own reservations among their home folks.

(2) That very few opportunities were available in the area for successful employment as carpenters, masons, automobile mechanics or skilled craftsmen in other trades.

(3) That the major resource of the Sioux people today is land. That in wise use of the land through livestock and the cultivation of subsistence areas lies the major possibility of economic self-sufficiency.

(4) That the Pine Ridge reservation alone

includes approximately two million acres of Indian-owned grazing land, only one-third of which is used by the Indians themselves. The logical conclusion drawn from these facts is that one of the major objectives for the educational program on Pine Ridge, therefore, is the development and use of Indian-owned lands by Indians.

With these facts as a background the faculty of the elementary and high schools of the Pine Ridge reservation undertook a reorganization of the educational program around the theme "Making a Home and Living in a Ranch Country." This program is carried on with the realization that civic as well as vocational training must support cooperative activities in the use of range land, in livestock management, in subsistence farming, and in social activities. Herewith are presented the curriculum changes which have resulted from a recognition of the significance of the facts revealed by the survey.

Practically all the boys and many of the girls at the Oglala Community High School have the cattle industry as a major center of interest in study and practice. The Oglala Community High School Livestock Association gives the boys and girls opportunities to learn to handle cattle, experiences which they could not get at home in many instances because many of the families had lost all of their cattle. In addition to the course in which all students enroll, specific projects for groups and individuals make it possible for pupils attending school, and graduates, to obtain and own cattle. Six boys who showed great interest in fitting themselves for ranch life were issued thirty Hereford heifers on the replacement plan from the school owned herd, in the fall of 1938. The four boys who remained in the Association now have 28 head of grown cattle and 24 calves. By the close of the school year in 1941, these four young men repaid all cattle owed to the school, and had in excess of fifty head to take to their homes where they will run on land owned by the boys or their families.

While their cattle are run on the school range, the Association members pay for its use and for all feed such as hay, oil-cake, and salt. During the summer months the boys assist in putting up hay and other feed for the boarding school herd. The work of the boys on many other farm and range duties is split about 50-50 between their personal herds and the school cattle. For their work in connection with the school herd, the boys may earn $1.00 per day. In this way they pay for the feed for their own cattle. The service of bulls is furnished by the government free of charge.

Another organization, the Junior Livestock Association, operating on the same plan, was started at the beginning of the school year in September 1939. The five members of this organization had 13 head of bred heifers in 1940. The plan is to start a new association each year with boys and girls from the Senior High School group. By the time these students are ready to graduate they will have gained a thorough knowledge of livestock and will have the beginnings of a herd with which to start ranch life at home.

The boys run their stock with the Boarding School herd on land located several miles east of the agency. They live at the range-camp where they take turns running the bunk house and cook shack. Each boy has his own string of horses and is assigned a circle of range to ride each day. On their rides they observe the condition of the cattle; check fences; and drive out cattle which have strayed in from other herds, at the same time notifying the owners. The student range-riders also check the water supply and observe individual animals which need particular attention. The experience at the range camp proceeds in such a way that students form constructive habits in ranch life situations. One boy is detailed each day to assist the camp cook in all of his duties, such as preparing meals, cleaning, chopping wood, washing clothes and carrying water. The care and use of the saddle horse, including the feeding and the proper saddling, is part of the boy's training. He learns how to sit in the saddle on long rides so as to minimize the strain on himself and the horse. The boys learn how to keep their riding equipment in good condition; saddles are hung up and saddle blankets are put out to dry properly. In the leather shop they learn to make many articles out of leather and to repair saddles, harness and shoes.

The boys' life at camp has much that is recreational and instructive. They have a radio for their own use. They take harmonicas, guitars and other musical instruments to camp for their own entertainment. A supply of books, magazines and papers is on hand for enjoyment and relaxation. The boys also take books and bulletins to the camp which enable them to do immediate research work on the livestock problems that they meet day by day.

Not all of the students' time is spent in riding the range. The boys find it necessary to build and repair fences, develop springs and water holes, repair windmills and engage in other types of work pertaining to ranch life. In early May the young ranchers learn how to dehorn, castrate and vaccinate cattle. In July they learn how to brand properly. They put up hay during the season of the year when the grasses are highest in nutritive value. They also learn the value of certain grasses and feeds that are best adapted to their section of the country. They learn that overstocking of range land and the reduction of protective vegetation has a permanent destructive effect upon the land. The boys also make numerous trips to near-by towns where pure bred Hereford sales are conducted. Here they take notes and judge stock just as regular stockmen do. They learn the value of good sires for breeding beef cattle for market. A number of students also attend the Denver (Colorado) Stock Show each year.

Between assignments to the range camp the classroom work at the boarding school is closely correlated with the range program. Students read and study bulletins on range practices, on grasses, soils, and windbreaks. They keep notebooks on activities and make various records. They write letters to Agriculture Colleges, and Stockmen's Associations. A study is made of the construction of reservoirs, of strip cropping, summer fallowing, planting of shelterbelts, brands, breeds of livestock, rope tying, feed costs, credit, and legal procedures in leasing.

The entire range program including the student cattle associations is under the direct supervision of the Stockman who has spent his entire life as a rancher. He and his three assistants try to overlook nothing that will make a well rounded ranchman out of every boy. When the cattle issued to the student associations are repaid to the government in the form of yearling heifers, the daily supervision of the stockman diminishes, but his advice and encouragement are still sought by the student owners.

This program has been successful in building interest in the raising of beef cattle. Many of the boys are now investing their Sioux Benefit money in livestock. But this interest has not been confined to students. A considerable number of adult livestock associations have been formed in various communities on the reservation with a total of approximately 11,000 head of Indian owned cattle. Although it can not be claimed that the educational program alone has been responsible for the increase of Indian owned cattle (from 2,000 in 1931), certainly the educational program has favorably influenced leadership and public opinion toward this end.

Junior livestock associations are also a feature of the day school program, and one of them, started in 1936 has been as successful in increasing cattle ownership as have the organizations at the boarding school.—*Keller*

9. DAY SCHOOLS PROMOTE RESERVATION PROGRAM

DAY and boarding schools on Pine Ridge follow a closely integrated program. This second article will be devoted primarily to the educational program of the day school and the community. Limitations of space preclude any emphasis on the care of horses as taught at the boarding school, and what is said in this article with regard to the horse breeding program should be thought of as applying to the boarding school as well as to the day school.

Horses are an important factor in the livestock industry. The educational program is encouraging better breeding practices by making available for Indian use two types of stallions: a breed suitable for heavy work, such as plowing, road construction, lumbering and similar heavy draft work, and a lighter breed suitable for work with cattle and general riding purposes. The lighter horse eats less and corresponds more nearly to Sioux desires. There are approximately 6,000 Indian owned horses on the reservation today most of which are the lighter cow pony type.

The introduction of polo has helped develop an interest in better horse breeding and furnishes a new desirable form of recreation. The Payabya Community patrons became interested in polo during the summer and fall of 1939. At that time several of the men were working on a dam near the community. They brought copies of the polo rules and regulations to the job with them. During the lunch hour they were completely absorbed in the study of the game. One man made a thorough study of all the regulations so as to be prepared to act as a referee and coach for future games. At the present time five communities on the reservation have polo teams and in addition several outlying White communities have organized teams.

Polo has become a very popular game where it has been introduced. The young men and boys are very enthusiastic and the older people have shown exceptional interest and pleasure in watching the game. Two of the Pine Ridge teams put on an exhibition game at the Bennett County Fair in Martin, South Dakota. This game created a great deal of interest on the part of the White spectators. As a result plans are under way to organize several teams in the Martin community. One game each day was also played at the Pine Ridge Fair for three consecutive days. Both Indians and Whites looked forward each day to these games.

As a result of this interest in polo many of the boys and young men are paying more attention to the care of their horses. This is shown by an increased desire to put up more hay for winter use, requests for permission to breed mares to the pure-bred Morgan stallions at the Oglala Community High School, and a more careful handling of horses. This better care of horses will undoubtedly affect the willingness of ranchers to employ Indians as ranch hands. Consequently an expansion of vocational opportunity may be another outgrowth of this added interest in and consequent better care of livestock.

It is also interesting to note that the polo players are making their own practice mallets from native wood. There is every indication that polo in becoming an accepted form of recreation on the reservation undoubtedly will promote better breeding and care of horses, teach the players team work and sportsmanship and provide a new and exciting means of entertainment for leisure time periods. Unlike some other games, it appeals to men who have long been out of school: anyone who keeps up his riding skill can play the game.

The education program on Pine Ridge also takes into consideration the fact that subsistence necessities on the reservation can not be met by the livestock industry alone. Supplemental activities are necessary. Those being emphasized are dry and irrigated gardening, small livestock enterprises and selection of adapted varieties of plants and fruit trees. Gardens have been planted at the schools and in the communities. The school gardens are planted, cared for and harvested by the school children, parents and teachers. In the communities, regular garden organizations are set up with officers, a constitution, and by-laws. The seeds in many instances are furnished by the government. One-fourth of the harvest reverts to the government in payment for use of the land, seeds, etc., and its share is used as food for the children at the day schools. Many communities finance their own operations entirely on a basis of government credit. School and community canning-kitchens and root cellars have been constructed to preserve and store the garden crops.

An example of a successful garden is that at the American Horse Day School. It covers an area of 30 acres. About four-fifths of it is sown to grain crops to supply feed for student poultry, hog, calf, and cattle projects. The remaining fifth is planted in garden crops. To date it has been a dry land garden but plans are under way to irrigate six acres from a well and reservoir. This garden has never known a failure. In 1938 the produce harvested was valued at $1,000. In 1940 hail damaged 50 per cent of the crop but there still remained an ample supply of vegetables for the adults who worked in the garden in addition to a share for the school.

During the past three years adult short courses have been conducted at the Oglala Community High School to give adults practical information and experience in dry and irrigated gardening. Each community selects several members as its representatives to attend these courses, which are from one to two weeks in length. After returning to their respective communities the representatives, with the help of the day school teachers and district farmers, make the same type of training available to all the community patrons.

The gardening phase of the short course includes discussion of the Pine Ridge soils, selection and storage of seeds, garden-planning, planting and cultivating gardens, harvesting, preservation of foods, root cellar construction, irrigation principles, practical garden irrigation, poultry as an insect control measure, and other methods of insect control.

These short courses for adults are made very practical. The patrons make trips to various parts of the reservation to observe and study different types of soils. Each person learns how to plan a garden according to the size of his family. Opportunities are afforded to plant different kinds of seeds at their proper depth and also to get practical experience in proper methods of cultivating. Patrons are taught how to can and dry vegetables, including methods of construction of simple drying frames. Irrigation is taught by giving each enrollee a shovel and a pair of rubber boots and letting him learn how to handle water out in the fields with different types of crops. Demonstrations are given on how to mix poisons for the control of insects and also how to construct simple poison spreaders.

A total of 45 gardens were in operation during 1939 at the day schools and in the communities on the Pine Ridge Reservation. A total of 315 acres was in gardens. Of this, 244 acres were under irrigation and 71 acres were devoted to dry land gardening. Two hundred and ninety-five families were benefited by these gardens in addition to the vegetables canned and stored at the twenty-one community schools for use in the children's midday meal.—*Keller*

10. SMALL LIVESTOCK ENTERPRISES

POULTRY raising has been encouraged by the school personnel on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the past five years. Practically every community on the reservation is taking an interest. Schools and communities have found that poultry is a significant factor in combatting insects. Poultry not only has increased the food supply, but has been found to be easily marketable, which facts have increased interest to such an extent that in 1940 the Indian patrons purchased 10,000 baby chicks as compared to practically none in 1936.

A worthwhile feature of poultry raising is the realization by Indian people that such projects cannot be operated profitably unless most of the necessary feeds are raised at home. Every community and most of the individual operators have planted various types of feed such as cane, millet, proso, federita, sooner milo, and kalo. These crops are proving to be very practical in South Dakota, because of their drouth resistant qualities. Approximately 500 acres were planted in such crops during 1940 by the various schools and by the fifteen adult poultry organizations.

Milk goats were first introduced as a project on the reservation in 1936. Milk goats can be fed economically and are an excellent source of milk for Indians who are badly in need of it. White ranchers in South Dakota already are using milk goats. Consequently their use by the Pine Ridge Indian people is in keeping with a custom already established in South Dakota.

Herds were set up at several of the day schools for educational and demonstration purposes. As the milk goat herds at one school increased, individual animals were sent to other schools. In April 1938 individual Indians and their families were allowed to purchase or work for goats. By this time a great deal of interest had developed and many of the Indian patrons were anxious to have goats of their own. During 1939 over one hundred goats were earned by pupils and adults from the herds of the various schools. Some were used for milking purposes and others were butchered for meat. Approximately 80 Indian families on the reservation own goats at the present time. A part of the educational program includes the tethering and fencing of goat herds to maintain well covered pastures.

In February 1940 steps were taken to select a goat dairy herd for No. 13 Day School. The teacher at this school was genuinely interested in milk goats; furthermore, there was need of more worthwhile activity for the adults which would lead to better subsistence. Several milk goats were brought in from other schools until a herd of 20 was built up. In early April the manufacture of goats' milk cheese was begun. During the three months prior to July 1, 1940, approximately 500 pounds of cheese were made. This cheese was sold to the Indian people at 35 cents per pound, for cash or labor. In addition, several gallons of milk were consumed daily by the school children and infants in this community.

Early in April 1938 the teacher at No. 6 Day School planted some Tom Thumb cherries, Sand cherries, Compass cherries and Hansen plums. These are all fruit trees adapted to the soil and moisture conditions of the area through the activities of the Federal Agricultural Experiment Station at Mandan, North Dakota. Some were developed from native stock, some were introduced from similar areas in this and other countries. The interest on the part of the community patrons was meager. They were skeptical as to the possibilities of the trees living beyond the first year. The trees however, lived, grew and produced fruit. More fruit trees were planted the second year, until today about 200 fruit trees are living and growing, at this school. This number of trees includes native fruit trees that have been transplanted, such as wild plums, choke cherries, June berries, buffalo berries, and currants. During the past two years the original planting of fruit trees especially adapted to this area have been literally loaded down with fruit. The first seven trees in the original planting produced in their third year, (1940) approximately 125 pint jars of delicious fruits.

The school children and adults are now taking a great deal of interest in this project. They have learned to watch the gates and fences so as to keep the goats and other animals away from the trees. The success of this experiment has been responsible for the planting of over 1,000 fruit trees during 1940 at various schools, and in draws and gulches in the various communities. There is every reason to believe that the interest in planting and caring for fruit trees, both wild and cultivated, will continue to expand.

No one familiar with reservation conditions would claim that actual progress is anywhere near what it needs to be, but those who were familiar with the situation as it was four years before and who know of the progress in confidence and interest as well as in practical ventures, are conscious that a good beginning has been made. The progress, if small and at a slow rate, is nevertheless sure. Indian students, old and young, are more and more assuming the responsibility, taking the initiative, and carrying out new projects or operating old ones. And in planning this development, the present educational program has introduced a new element: only those activities which the Indian people, themselves, have taken over and made their own are judged by the educational staff to be desired activities for future work. Space does not permit mention of self-help building clubs which have added rooms to houses, built barns and provided recreation facilities. Enough has been said however, to indicate that self-activity under educational leadership has increased self-support, and that with this increase has come increased confidence in the ability to do more for oneself, one's family and the community.—*Keller*

11. GIRLS, RANCH AT PINE RIDGE

IN 1936 a three-room log-cabin was constructed in conjunction with the Oglala Community High School, Pine Ridge, in order that high-school girls could have experiences in keeping house in small quarters with simple equipment under conditions somewhat similar to those which prevail in their homes. The success of this venture both from the point of view of the students and the home economics staff was such that it seemed advisable to amplify the practical home-making opportunities by building another practice cottage. The new cottage was built of rammed earth in order to demonstrate the use of a free and practically inexhaustible building material available all over the reservation. Another advance over the first practice cottage was the inclusion in the land surrounding the house of a subsistence garden; an orchard of hybrid and wild native fruits, adapted to the area; a root cellar; a wind-mill water supply; a windcharger; a tipi; a shade; an icehouse; and sheds for a milk goat, chickens, geese, and guineas.

The interior of the house was furnished with inexpensive and largely homemade equipment. Along the wall of one room is a bunk, of single bed width, long enough to serve as sleeping place for two people but occupying less space than two single beds. Another room contains simple playthings for children. The kitchen is equipped with a wood stove because in reservation homes wood stoves are practically the only stoves used: they give heat through the long winter as well as serving as cookstoves. Other furniture and equipment were chosen because they are in wide use in the area, are within the budget possibilities of Indian families, and are necessary to maintain or improve living conditions.

The ranch-yard has been equipped and stocked with the same practical considerations in mind.

The house was made of rammed earth because other building materials are scarce. Wood is lacking except along the creeks and is inferior for building purposes.

A tipi was put in the ranch yard because some families live in tents the year round and others use tipis for part of the year. The "shade," a shelter of boughs, was put beside the tipi. Similar "shades" are used as outdoor kitchens in reservation Indian homes for six months of the year. Again reservation homes can have and need the simple type of root-celler constructed at the cottage. An ice house of the type in use at the practice cottage is a possibility in any Indian home in the area. The livestock for the ranch yard were selected with an eye to the differences in local conditions in various sections of the 2,000,000 acre reservation. Milk goats are desirable where feed is scarce. Guineas do not require much grain feeding. They are hardy and wander far afield, living on weed seeds and insects. The hybrid fruit trees are especially hardy; are resistant to drouth; and, are short season varieties developed especially for the Dakota area.

A group of eight girls from the sixth to the twelfth grades goes to the girl's ranch every morning at 7:30 a. m. and remains until 4:00 p. m. The same girls continue at the ranch cottage for one month each year of the high-school course. Two boys come in to help with chores every day and other boys come in to help because both men and women need to work together to make a successful home. The cottage group under the supervision of their teacher of home making undertook the care of two babies: The mother and the public health nurse helped to insure proper child hygiene for the babies with a maximum of participation by the students.

Learning to eat the vegetables from the garden is as important a part of the program as growing them, because gardens are now possible where the new dams make irrigated areas increasingly available. The girls not only have practice in preparing fresh vegetables and fruits from the garden for their own meals while they are living in the practice cottage but they also have practice in the preservation of fruits and vegetables for winter use. They dry and can green beans and corn; make kraut, and in the root cellar store carrots and beets in sand, hang up cabbage, and put potatoes in the bins. All these activities are carried out, the most important aim being to give them experience in making the fullest possible use of their resources under actual economic conditions.—*Teachers' Committee*

12. MOCCASINS

RECENTLY, in the classrooms of two schools, the children were wearing simple moccasins made out of old army blankets and decorated with threads and bindings of bright colors. At the same schools the wet, muddy shoes and wet wraps were being properly dried. The schools were surrounded by what looked like one big mud puddle, yet the classrooms were spotlessly clean.

In another school, thirty miles distant, the children were wearing their muddy shoes in the classrooms. Dry mud was everywhere. When cleaning time came it was most difficult to clean the floors and great clouds of dust arose after each stroke of the brooms. From the standpoint of health and of economy in room care, it is apparent that much can be said in favor of children making moccasins for themselves.

What advantages, if any, do modern "store shoes" have over the numerous models of moccasins formerly used by Indians? For hundreds of years the Indians used moccasins to the exclusion of all other types of footwear; for walking, running, fishing, hunting and dancing; in cold weather and during the hot summer months; on snow and on ice; on rough, steep and rocky mountain trails and on soft desert pathways; and, apparently they found them adequate to their needs. Today moccasins can, and probably should be used as a covering for school children's feet, at least part of the time.

If moccasins are well made and properly fitted, they are comfortable to wear; they permit normal growth of the bones of the feet and encourage development of strong muscles and arches; they promote good posture. If of good workmanship, they look well and they can be made highly decorative. They could do away with much of the unnecessary noise in buildings used by large groups of students; their use would lessen wear and tear on floors and furniture.

Moccasins for indoor wear can be made of a variety of materials other than leather when this is not easily obtainable. The good sections of worn wool blankets, heavy wool coats, wool uniforms and leather jackets can be utilized. Even the suitable parts of felt caps and hats that are no longer usable as such can, with planning and ingenuity, serve as substitutes for leather in their construction. In fact, it would be possible for every student to have several pairs of "made-to-order" moccasins that would prove excellent for indoor wear. They might well be worn daily in the classroom while "store shoes" that have become wet and muddy are drying. All Indians enjoy wearing moccasins and the distinctive tribal patterns and designs can be followed in fashioning them.—*Helbing*

13. ANYBODY HAS A NAIL

THE average White man accustomed to new and mechanized ways of performing old tasks frequently grows impatient with the native handicraftsman who persists in utilizing his crude and home-made tools. So we are likely to find home economics teachers installing electric plates and ranges in the home economic departments of Indian schools located in regions where electricity is little more than a myth among the general population; shop instructors filling their benches with the latest motor driven jig saws, joiners, and lathes, ignoring the fact that the Indian craftsman in his home could not afford to own such a gadget if he had the electricity with which to run it. Much has been said in the last few years to point out such ill-considered practices, but a true story from Alaska gives added point to what has already been said.

Our teacher at Shungnak discovered that only the older men still possessed the skill to make a first-class pair of snowshoes. Each year fewer of the old men remained to carry on their craft, and the younger generation began to depend entirely upon traders' snowshoes of inferior quality. Wisely our teacher invited the best snowshoe maker in his district to come to the school and teach the craft to the school boys. The early lessons were spent in the woods selecting and testing woods to obtain the proper growth of birch. When the right wood was found it was brought back to the school, and after adequate preparation of the rawhide thongs, the actual making of the snowshoes was begun.

When the White teacher visited the class, he was surprised to find each member either making or engaged in using an old type Eskimo bow drill as primitive as any such instrument could be. Watching the youngsters at work, twirling their bits of rusty nail with a strip of leather thong, impressed him with the primitiveness of the procedure. He immediately hunted out an automatic push drill which he offered to the old Eskimo teacher. Very emphatically and with a show of excitement the teacher rejected the newfangled gadget in an outburst of Eskimo. Our teacher was a little nonplussed and sought an interpreter. Then he learned widsom.

If a boy or man were trapping in the mountains, traveling hour by hour in deep drifted snow, the breaking of a snowshoe in a fall might cost him his life, should he be unable to repair the damage or make himself a new shoe. Eskimo do not own and cannot afford such a drill as had been proffered. More important, it was too heavy to add to the traveler's nicely calculated pack. Anyone who would allow himself to become dependent upon such a gadget was a fool and would pay for his folly with his life. Any Eskimo had a pocket full of nails; and the old man demonstrated by shoving his hand into his own pocket and bringing forth a miscellaneous assortment. With his ever present knife he could cut a bit of willow or other wood for a bow, and with a bit of snowshoe thong make himself on the spur of the moment the necessary drill to repair his shoe or build a new one. His argument was unanswerable.

Automatic drills have little place in the daily life of the Alaska native, faced with the necessity of living life on its simplest terms. If we only knew it, a similar line of reasoning should control much of the teaching in all Indian schools. All education seeks fundamentally to give the student an understanding of and increasing control over the world in which he must live. It ceases to be education when it degenerates to the mere acquisition of knowledge or skills unrelated to the fundamental functions of everyday life.

14. ADULT SHOP FOR NAVAHC

AT THE beginning of a school year at Tuba it was decided to provide some means for repairing the school's own farm machinery as well as that brought in by the Indians of the area. As there was no building suitable and no material with which to construct one, we decided to build the forge and set the equipment under a cottonwood tree which happened to be conveniently located nearby.

The equipment consisted of a tire shrinker, anvil, work bench, vise, tire setting pan and wheelwright stand, all set in concrete blocks. The anvil was placed on the end of a cottonwood log set in the ground to the proper height. We ordered a Tuyere iron and blower, built the forge with native stone laid in cement mortar.

We are planning to fence a machine enclosure, in order that the school farm machinery may be brought in and stored so it can be repaired as time and schedule permit.

The climate at Tuba allows outside work the year around. Because of this, there are always from one to ten wagons in for repairs. Rebuilding wheels is a continuous job as every wagon brought in needs from one to four wheels repaired. One of the greatest problems has been for the adult Indians to get new parts when needed, but it has been surprising to see what they can do with so little to work with.

An example of how the shop is appreciated: One man who lives nine miles west of school broke a wagon wheel. He didn't have any way to get in except by walking. He rolled the wheel in, replaced a couple of spokes, shrunk and reset the tire, and then rolled it back home.

If the adult participation continues to increase, we will have to build another forge in order to take care of the work. From September 1940 to January 1941, there has been a total of eight hundred twenty-five adults participating in shop work. We feel that this program is offering a real opportunity to the adults of the area, as well as providing added worthwhile experience for the boys.—*Buck*

15. HONEY FOR PAPAGO—AND OTHERS

THE program of our Indian schools will inevitably vary as the local environment varies. There can be no uniform curriculum; there can be no uniform pattern of school activities. What is good in South Dakota may be without value in Oklahoma. What worked in Southern California may be a failure in Southern Arizona. On the other hand, the type of analysis of opportunities and needs as they are found to exist in any one location, may form an adequate pattern by which to analyze the needs and the resources almost anywhere in the Service. It is important that our imaginations be flexible enough to recognize new resources and capitalize upon them.

Despite the fact that bees and honey furish a recognized resource in many parts of the world, there are few apiarists in the Indian Service and few schools or reservations where bee culture has been undertaken on even a small scale. Some years ago, however, two of the school men on the Papago reservation noted that wild bees were common in the area and that a few hives had been set up at the Department of Agriculture Experiment Station in Fresnal Canon. These things were not only seen but were productive of action, and through their initiative bees were dug from some of the caves near the Sells School and given homes in modern hives. The number of hives has been increased by division. In 1938 the school produced 1500 pounds of honey. In 1939 it secured 2400 pounds from 40 hives. In 1940 the number of hives increased to 75 and the amount of honey to 5000 pounds. During 1941 the number of hives was increased to 100.

Both boys and girls learned how to take care of bees at the school. Some of them have wanted to take bees home and the school shop has helped them make their own hives and other equipment, and has enabled them to earn a colony of bees. Those who have been engaged in bee culture on the reservation believe that bees may turn out to be as economically important for the Indians as the cattle. They estimate that the 75 hives at the school produced about $400 worth of honey. Judged by the distance which a bee flies in securing its food there are about 250 areas on the reservation from which that amount of honey could be produced.

Principal Raymond Johnson, who is the major friend of the Papago bees, at this point lets his pencil get very excited and arrives at the conclusion that $100,000 worth of honey could be produced with a minimum of effort. For 6,000 Papago this would be a $16 annual per capita increase in income or between $80 and $100 per family. Probably a day dream, but a sweet one!

To get a hive of bees started costs about $7.50. With the help from the schools, a boy or girl can learn how to start several hives from the first one. Bee culture is still in its infancy on the Papago reservation but it has great possibilities, for the whole reservation is a flower garden more full of food for bees than for livestock. It is the mesquite, the cactus, the palo verde, and other desert shrubs which are the source of supply for the Papago bees: how many other areas in the Indian Service might well consider bees and their honey as an added source of food supply, if not as contributors to their cash income?

At this point one wonders how far the home economics departments in our Papago schools have gone to teach the use of honey to take the place of granulated white sugar. A program which substituted honey for sugar in ordinary cooking and in the making of honey candy, cactus candy, and fruit candy with local resources, would certainly be contributing to better health and longer life for these Indians. What about the potentiality of bees for other areas of the Indian Service? Or what about buying or trading honey from the Papago or the Colorado River group for use in other Indian Schools?

And, by the way, what's the undiscovered "honey" of your reservation area?

16. STOCKWATER POOLS FOR WILD LIFE

IN THE past few years the CCC-ID and AAA have developed hundreds of stockwater dams flooding from 1 to 1,200 surface acres, on Indian lands in the Great Plains region. These artificial pools or lakes have done much to improve the lands for grazing. Many of them would add much more to the resources of the land if they were properly developed to encourage wildlife. Practically none of these water areas have been planted to aquatics for use by migratory waterfowl, nor for food and cover plantings which can be utilized by upland game birds such as the pheasant, Hungarian partridge, prairie chicken, and sharp-tailed grouse.

With the increased demands of the armed services for food, and the tightening of food restrictions on civilians, it is more important than ever that we develop, yet conserve and use wisely, our wild game resources. Development of reservation stock-water dams to attract and provide feeding and breeding areas for wildlife would increase their numbers and provide more civilian food. Unfortunately however, labor for this development work, such as was provided by the CCC, is not now available. Lacking this it is believed that some Indian schools could provide the effort, and profit from the study and the work involved.

Many Indian schools are located near undeveloped stockwater dams or lakes, and where there are no problems of transportation involved, these areas might well serve as natural laboratories for biological and botanical training. Problems could be studied and plans drawn up in the classroom, and the lake or dam could provide the means for a practical lesson in the subject. In addition, the habitat would be improved for wild game. Previous to the drought, which dried up many waterfowl breeding grounds, the Great Plains was a natural haven for game birds. We can now do much to restore these conditions.

Care should be exercised in selecting an area to be developed. Fluctuating water levels should be one of the main concerns because where there is much changing of the levels the plants will have less likelihood of surviving. Stockwater dams whose water level can be partially controlled by a stream flowing through the pool are the most likely to be successful because, unless the stream dries up, there will be a continual supply of water to control the level.

Preliminary work should first include the making of a rough map of the water area. Then a survey should be made to determine what plants are already there. If present plants are unknown these may be sent to any state agriculture college for identification. Measurements or soundings should next be taken to find water depths, and bottom soil samples should be obtained to determine suitability for planting. Generally speaking, the hard-packed sandy or clay soils are not good, whereas a lake bottom of soft clay, silt, or muck usually provides good growing conditions. When this work has been completed studies should then be made of the various plant species to be used.

If cattle or sheep are extensively using the stockwater pools it might be necessary to fence part or all of the area to provide protection for the plantings. This would be practically the only expense involved. Construction of some type of wood fence, if wire is not available, might eliminate even this expense. The best fencing method would consist of enclosing the entire area, and the addition of a pipe to carry water into a stock tank on the lower end. Lacking means for this, the lower end could be fenced to protect upland plantings. Some aquatic plantings might be made without protection. Fencing should extend back as far from the shore's edge as sub-irrigation will have effect.

Food habits research has shown that pondweeds, sedges, and smartweeds are all important aquatic food sources for migratory waterfowl in the usual alkaline waters of the Great Plains area. These three plant families often provide over 50% of the food of ducks. Sago pondweed (Potamogeton pectinatus), marsh smartweed (Polygonum muhlenbergii), and bulrushes, (Scirpus sp.), which are in the sedge family, all rate highly as foods. Duck millet or barnyard grass (Enchinochloa crusgalli) is also considered a good marsh plant and it provides much duck and goose food. These species are common to most areas in this region, and planting material should be easy to obtain. Seeds of the bulrushes, millet, and smartweed, and seeds, tubers, and leaves of the sago pondweed are all eaten by ducks and geese. As many as 3,922 American or three-square bulrush seeds, and over 1,000 pondweed seeds have been found in a single mallard's stomach. As many as 40 tubers of the sago pondweed have been found in the stomach of a pintail duck. Aquatic development should be undertaken with these types of foods.

When preliminary studies have been completed the next step is to gather seeds, tubers, and rootstocks for planting. Planting material can be obtained from nearby state and federal wildlife refuges, or from almost any natural lake or marsh. Seeds and tubers should be collected after maturing in early fall, around the middle of September. When smartweed and duck millet seedheads begin to shatter it is an indication that the seed is ripe.

Considerable care should be taken in planting, to insure optimum growth conditions. Aquatic planting may be done in spring or fall but unless seeds, tubers, and rootstocks are properly stored over the winter it would be best to carry on fall plantings. Seeds can be planted by broadcasting over the water or mud. If seeds float they should be placed in clay balls (several to a ball) before planting. One bushel of seed can be sowed at approximately 9-foot intervals over an acre surface. If the seed supply is limited, small spot plantings should be made at 30 to 40 foot intervals. Tubers or rootstocks should be implanted in the bottom soil with about a 3 to 6 inch covering. In deeper parts these can be placed in clay balls and thrown into the water. Optimum water planting depths range from 6 to 36 inches although some seeds and tubers, such as pondweeds, can be planted in clear water up to 6 feet in depth with good results. Generally speaking, all aquatic planting should be kept damp prior to planting.

Marsh smartweed and duck millet are considered marsh plants, although the smartweed will grow both in water and in damp places along shores. This latter plant is especially hardy as is evidenced by its ability to withstand water fluctuations up to 12 feet. Seeds of these two plants should be broadcast along muddy shores, and in addition, the smartweed seeds can be sowed in water not over 36 inches deep. Smartweed may also be propagated by cutting two-node lengths of the green stem and inserting them in the mud. Anchoring one end of the stem in a clay ball is another method of planting, if the water is deep. Both millet and smartweed seeds mature as early as the latter part of August, in many sections.

Bulrush species are best propagated by the seeds or rootstocks. Rootstocks are perhaps the surer planting method although digging up and planting the roots involves considerably more work than gathering and planting seeds. The rootstocks should be cut into sections (each with a bud) and these should be planted by covering with 3 to 6 inches of bottom soil. Clay balls can be used in deeper water but plantings should not be made deeper than 48 inches in order to obtain maximum growth success. The rootstocks can be planted at a rate of 500 to 1,200 per acre. Bulrush is an excellent plant to use along artificial dikes for the prevention of wind and wave erosion. It grows well in the sandy soils as well as other types.

Sago pondweed is generally regarded as one of the very best of all duck food plants. It is best propagated by seeds and tubers, and these should be planted in the same manner as the bulrush. The plant will grow in clear water up to 6 feet deep but the best depth is probably around 3 feet.

Some water areas can be developed for

fur bearing animals, such as muskrats. However, muskrats often cause much damage by burrowing into the dikes and earth dams, so they should not be introduced where this damage would result. Restored natural lakebeds would provide good habitats for this animal. Bulrush plants are utilized considerably by muskrats for food and house construction, but the cattail (Typha sp.) is their more favored plant. This can be propagated by planting seeds or rootstocks. However, it is not a good duck food and therefore should be planted only in areas where it is desirable to raise muskrats.

Upland food and cover plantings should be made in damp parts along the edge of the pool where there will be sub-irrigation to insure water for the plants. Plants should be selected which will retain their seeds or fruits throughout most of the winter. These will then provide food for upland game birds when the winter snows cover the weed and grain seeds on the ground. Excellent plants or bushes for this purpose are the wolfberry or snowberry, wild plum, chokecherry, wild rose, buffalo berry, Russian olive, and sumac. All provide good cover for protection of the birds from predators.

Best methods of propagating upland species are by transplanting the entire bush, or by planting seeds, or shoots (of some species). Transplanting is usually the most successful and this can be done in either the spring or fall. Spring is generally the more favorable time of the two seasons, and the work should be done immediately after the frost leaves the ground and before growth begins. Many of these species can be obtained from Indian Service or Soil Conservation Service forestry nurseries, although all of them can be found in the wild in most sections of the Great Plains region.

—*Eklund*

17. FISH FOR STOCKWATER POOLS

AN EXTENSION of the program of artificial planting of stockwater pools with aquatic plants which will form food beds for wild fowl to include fish stocking of these pools, is suggested.

Most Indians through treaty rights, have the privilege of hunting and fishing on their reservations at all times, regardless of state game laws. Under these circumstances, they should be encouraged to care for wildlife resources and to replenish them by stocking if necessary, so as to have an abundance of local game through their own efforts.

The propagation of fish in permanent ponds and stockwater pools as a food-producing endeavor where the fish are to be taken with nets in commercial quantities, offers a real opportunity to produce food for Indian homes and school dining halls. Its promotion would be something which offers possibilities new to the Indian Service, but which have proved successful elsewhere, especially in the South. There are good indications that it would be beneficial, in a limited way, in northern areas, such as the Great Plains as well.

In order to begin successfully such an activity there should be a demonstration pond close to the school, about one and a half acres in size. It is not necessary to be an authority on the subject at the start. A reference list is included in this article. The material is by no means complete, but as the work progresses, more interesting material can be accumulated.

A program of this type, might well start in the school classroom with an aquarium, and would include a study of suitable varieties of aquatic plant life, the fertilization of ponds to produce minute insect, plant, and animal life, the study of suitable fish for stocking ponds in the local district, and end with the actual stocking of the outside ponds with fish and plants. In the course of these experiments, it is important to make clear the relationships of land, trees, water, and all plant and animal life, and the importance of these renewable resources to the social and economic life of the country and its people. In carrying out the proposed work on any reservation, the cooperation of all will be needed. The equipment will not require much money, but if some definite provision is made, there will be a greater prospect of ultimate and general success.

Experiments have shown that when it is desired to obtain maximum production from a pond it will be advisable, in most cases, to fertilize it each season. The constant removal of fish from a pond without the addition of any fertilizer is like trying to grow crops without fertilizer, and the results are much the same. As the amount of food available for the fish is dependent on the amount of plant life in the pond, it is evident that within certain limits we can increase the growth of fish by stimulating the growth of aquatic plants. Some recent experiments in carefully controlled ponds have shown that properly fertilized ponds will produce from two to four times as many fish as unfertilized ponds. A number of fertilizers have been used for the purpose, but it has not yet been determined which yield the best results. Well-rotted stable manure has been used successfully in some cases, but great care must be taken not to add too much of it at one time, as the dissolved oxygen in the water may become exhausted, with disastrous results to the fish. Probably the safest fertilizer for the purpose is a mixture of equal parts of dried sheep manure and superphosphate applied at the rate of 500 to 1,000 pounds per acre. This fertilizer should not all be added at one time, but small amounts should be applied at intervals of two to three weeks during the spring and early summer. It is best to scatter the fertilizer as evenly as possible in the shallow water along the margin of the pond.

Frequent reference is made in scientific publications to the necessity of vegetation in fishponds. Its advantages are many. It serves as food and as a harbor for the lowest form of minute animal life. Each advance in the scale of life constitutes a food for higher forms, and in the guise of fish the fertility of the pond contributes to the food of the human race. Plants play an important part in the purification of water, taking up the carbonic acid gas liberated by decomposition and liberating the oxygen essential to living creatures. They thus prevent the asphyxiation of fish life and act as a corrective of many abnormal characteristics of individual waters. Losses of fish through the depredations of enemies will be greatly lessened where there is an abundant aquatic growth in which they may hide. It furnishes a grateful shade on bright warm days, and the interlacing roots so bind the bottom soil as to prevent turbidity from casual disturbances.

The aquatic flora of a locality varies greatly with its latitude and is also governed by the chemical ingredients of specific waters. The most desirable species usually thrive best in waters of limestone origin. Plants of filamentous character are preferable to the large spatulate-leaved kinds, as they present greater surface expanse for the exchange of gases and, on account of their shallow rootage, are more readily controlled by the fish-culturist. Among suitable fine-leaved kinds the most common are Sago pondweed (Potamogeton), Water Milfoil (Myriophyllum), and Waterweed (Anacharis). Pond lilies, cat's-tail, and coarse water grasses or weeds in moderation are beneficial, as they afford shade and shelter. However, they are lower forms of oxygenators than the plants of finer growth, they make seining operations more difficult, and it is virtually impossible to eradicate them after they have obtained a foothold.

Most of the experiments in pond fish culture have been done in the South. The following comments are based on results there, but with certain limitations should apply to more northern localities as well. It is extremely important that new ponds should not be stocked with too many fish. By the end of the first summer, if properly stocked, bream should have reached a size of approximately one-fourth of a pound and bass or crappie a size of about one pound. If too many fish are added it may take as long as five years or more for the fish to reach the above weights. In older ponds poor fishing is not due to lack of sufficient brood stock, but usually to the presence of a considerable number of large fish which are too wary to bite and which eat up most of the small fish produced in the pond. When this condition occurs, good fishing can best be regained by draining the pond, removing all the fish and returning just the right numbers of small fish after refilling the pool. The large fish should not be returned to the water. Considerably better results are secured if several species of fish are placed in the same pond. When a pond is stocked with bream only, as soon as these bream reproduce it becomes so overcrowded that the small fish are unable to grow because of lack of food. If the correct number of bass or crappie are added to the pond containing bream, they will feed on the surplus and thus help to prevent overcrowding.

Fish for stocking purposes can be obtained free of charge from Federal hatcheries when a sound program has been worked out. The number of fish to be added depends on the number of pounds which the pond can support. In general, unfertilized ponds will support from 100 to 200 pounds of fish per acre, while fertilized ponds support from 500 to 600 pounds. After a pond has once been properly stocked with fish, it should not need restocking. An acre of water, if not fertilized, should be stocked with 400 bream and 30 bass or 50 crappie; if fertilized, it should be stocked with a maximum of 1500 bream and 100 bass or 200 crappie. If it is desired to also add catfish to the pond the most suitable species appears to be the common bullhead catfish. For each 25 catfish added, reduce the number of bream to be added by 100.

—Bourne and Meehean

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18. FAMILY VEGETABLE GARDEN

MUCH discussion and emphasis has been centered about the need for family vegetable gardens among Indian families throughout the country. Everywhere the need is admitted, but only in isolated instances, however, have instruction and actual demonstration helped Indian families to plan and plant their family gardens to best meet their needs.

Several schools thought sufficiently well of the idea of actually planning, planting, caring for and harvesting family vegetable gardens as a part of their instruction in rural living, that demonstration family vegetable gardens to meet the needs of average size families in their respective areas have been planted by student groups.

At Macy Day School the high school boys and girls figured out what they estimated to be the right size plot of ground to meet the needs of a family of eight persons. A garden for a family of eight was chosen because it was found by a survey of conditions among the Omaha and Winnebago that eight persons usually constituted the number who regularly ate at the average family table. A plot 166 feet long and 145 feet wide, containing 24,070 square feet, and an adjoining half acre plot for potatoes were decided upon as the area of land needed to supply the family of eight with fresh vegetables during the season, plus vegetables for canning, drying and storing for use until the next growing season. The vegetable garden bulletins from the Nebraska State Extension Service and other sources were studied. Kinds, varieties and quantities of seed and plants needed for the garden were definitely determined, as was the quantity of spray and dust materials for insect and plant disease control. Plants, such as tomato and cabbage, were started in hot beds. The seeds and plants, including potato seed, cost $10.92, and the spray and dust materials cost $5.70, or a total of $16.62. The garden was not irrigated since an actual demonstration of what could be done under conditions typical of the area was desired.

The family garden was planned on paper prior to planting and the lengths of rows to be planted to each kind of vegetable were determined. A large sign reading "Macy Day School—Demonstration Garden for family of eight" was made and placed in a conspicuous place at the garden site to call the garden demonstration to the attention of adults in the community. Twenty-four different vegetables were planted and cared for by the boys and girls until the end of the school term. During the summer period N. Y. A. students cared for the garden and harvested and helped with the canning of those vegetables which matured. Teachers and other school employees did the bulk of the canning during the summer. (This might have been a practical summer experience for students.) When school reopened in the fall the boys and girls in the high school completed the harvesting, canning and storage of the late maturing vegetables.

The green beans and peas were used as green vegetables in the preparation of noon lunches at a summer school conducted at Macy. The products used for canning were put in one-quart jars for the purpose of making a more effective display. In all, 440 quart jars were filled with products from this garden. Certain crops, such as potatoes, were put in a well-constructed root cellar built by the students.

In cooperation with the local county agricultural agent check plots of various varieties of tomatoes were planted in the garden and records were kept of the quality and quantity harvested from each variety.

The garden went through an early season dry period, followed in June by a severe flood and an early September frost. In spite of these damaging weather conditions, the garden was a successful demonstration. Much was learned from the results which will help in the planning of other demonstration family vegetable gardens other years. For instance, it was discovered that twice the number of cans of vegetables should have been put up to carry the family of eight through to the next growing season. This indicated the need for enlarging the area to be devoted to certain crops, taking local weather and soil conditions into consideration.

Many adults in the community visited the garden and studied it throughout the season. Many women in the community have decided that they want to do more of their canning in glass jars at home, instead of making long trips to the community canning kitchen at Macy to do their canning in tins. When tomato and cabbage plants were ready to be transplanted from the hot bed to the vegetable garden it was found that there was a surplus of plants. These were distributed to families in the community who were planting family vegetable gardens at home. In all, 133 families received 8000 tomato plants and 34 families secured 500 cabbage plants from the school. The value of all products taken from the garden reached a total of $64.54. Thus, excluding labor costs and the value of plants distributed throughout the community, the garden was shown to be worth $47.92 to any family of eight in monetary terms, and of untold value to such a family in terms of better health, a better feeling of security in foods for the winter months and the joy of individual accomplishment.—*Goodwin*

19. MORGAN HORSES AT SCHOOLS

FOUNDATION herds of registered Morgans have been established by the Education Division at the Carson, Chilocco, Pine Ridge and Tongue River school farms during 1939-41. Ninety-three registered mares of splendid type have now been assembled at these four schools, while a total of 16 registered stallions have been secured and placed at Cheyenne River, Wind River, and Rosebud, in addition to the above named schools. States from Vermont to Nevada, and from Montana to Texas are represented in the purchases thus far made. The quality of the animals selected is equal to the best in America.

The management of beef herds by our school farms under range conditions demands the use by the students participating in the actual range operations of saddle horses that have stamina and are gentle and intelligent. The general versatility of the Morgan horse, making it the most ideal light horse for use by Indian youth, has been a large factor in its selection. The size and type of the Morgan makes the horses of this breed most acceptable for those interested in beef management, since cattlemen must of necessity care for their cattle with saddle horses.

Foundation breeding stock from the above mentioned farms, and others soon to be established, will eventually be available for school farms on other reservations having beef herds. The establishment of registered Morgan herds at all schools having beef cattle is the present plan of the Education Division.

The Morgan horse breeding program will not interfere with the school farms' past policy of continuing the heavier draft type animals. Schools will continue in cooperation with other divisions to assist in having good stallions of the heavier breeds available for use of the larger farmers.

Obviously no one breed of horse can be expected to meet all Indian work requirements any more than one breed could fill the needs of all types of eastern and middle western farmers. It is apparent, however, that a very large number of Indians are livestock operators and have definite need for a "cow-horse". This fact has been recognized, but no definite program has been previously established to supply this need. Many additional Indians have small cultivated tracts sufficiently large to supply vegetables, corn, potatoes, and grain to grind for their own family needs. A pair of light horses, plus another light horse borrowed from the neighbors making three light horses do the work of two heavies, usually suffice to do the heavier work on many smaller eastern farms. This has also been a custom among many Indian farmers and can undoubtedly be enlarged upon to an even greater extent.

Certain other Indians keep horses only to drive to and from home with the family. Thus the need of the very great majority of Indians is for a combination "cow-horse," "cart-horse" and general light purpose farm horse. No light horse in America has maintained as much enthusiasm and kept as much loyalty among riders, buggy and light wagon drivers, and small acreage farmers as has the Morgan. It is hoped that as sufficiently large numbers of Morgans become available, the schools can assist Indian cattle men to obtain good foundation stock of the Morgan as well as of the heavier breeds.—*Mathiesen*

20. RAISE YOUR OWN FENCE POSTS

A GENERATION ago we cut our fence posts and gathered our firewood from a nearby woodland. Today that woodland has become somebody's farm and we pay fifteen to twenty-five cents for a good post and have to haul it some distance, from the man who has been foresighted enough to gain control of such woodland areas as remain. Firewood in many areas has either become prohibitively scarce or expensive. As a result many people are forced to adopt other fuels and other materials for fence-posts thereby increasing the cash outlay for items which in the nature of things ought to be in their own backyard. Is this all necessary? There is a good deal of indication that it is just a part of the foggy thinking which has characterized much of farm economy during the last generation. If the woods have disappeared the logical answer is to set aside an adequate woodlot on each farm, which will more than justify itself in both beauty and utility. The farm woodlot may be some odd-shaped tract that is hard to farm because of its location or shape, or just the corner of a field. It may be the poorest soil or located on a slope too steep for cultivation. Trees may be successfully grown on almost any soil if given a good start. They make better growth of course if planted on good tree soil.

The wood lot has many possible functions. Its trees may serve as a windbreak, protecting fields from wind erosion or sheltering from the cold north wind during the winter, or furnishing a cool shade for stock during the summer. After a few years it will furnish a picnic ground for family outings, a place where birds of all kinds can nest, and a shelter for quail, pheasants, rabbits, and similar wild life which can there reproduce with a fair amount of protection from their natural enemies. After a few years broken branches will afford a source of wood for fuel and in ten or twelve years one should be able to harvest his first fence posts. As trees are cut for this purpose, new ones can be planted or with care natural replacement will begin to take place.

The type of trees selected needs to be

suited to the area. Throughout the Dakotas, initial seed can best be secured from the Mandan Experiment Station near Bismarck or the commercial seedhouses handling Mandan lines. In Oklahoma the experience at Chilocco indicates that catalpa, bois d' arc, and red cedar (juniperus virginiana) are species well adapted to the climatic conditions which will make a fairly rapid growth. Black locust has been tried but has not proved resistant to borer infection and does not withstand drought as well as the other varieties. In general, any tree that grows naturally under the soil and climatic conditions of the area may be successfully planted in the woodlot. But it is worthwhile to make an exhaustive study of the kinds of trees that have grown successfully under typical conditions. An unexpected drought or wave of insect infestation may destroy an earnest effort to establish a woodlot, if the trees chosen are not suited to resist such experiences.

It isn't necessary to patronize commercial seed men—but when one does, it is quite important to see that nursery stock has been selected from a line of trees which experience has proved can live in the area. Anyone could go into a grove of Catalpa just after the first hard frost and gather plenty of seed pods from the mature trees. These pods should be spread out where they will be protected until thoroughly dry. Then they can be shelled and the seeds sacked. The seeds should be kept cool (though not cold) in an even tempered, well ventilated room until spring planting time. They may then be planted in nursery rows in ground which has been properly plowed and well worked down. Young trees need the same attention to cultivation, weeding, and watering through occasional dry spells, that one would give to any other form of irrigated garden. These attentions must be carried out through the first two or three years. Bois d' arc produces hedge balls or apples which can be collected in the same way, allowed to dry, and then cleaned and preserved as are the Catalpa seeds until time to plant.

Tree seeds should be planted like carrots, about one-half an inch deep or about three times the thickness of the seed and from four to eight inches apart in the row. Rows should be of standard width to enable the trees to be cultivated with power or horse equipment. The young trees after their initial start can be transplanted and set out from eighteen to twenty-four inches in a row if they are to be permitted a good nursery growth before being transferred to the permanent wood lot. After a wood lot has been started, young trees may be transplanted directly from the seed row to the grove at the end of the first growing season if they will be well protected and cultivation is continued. However it is usually best to wait until seedlings are at least two years old before permanent transplanting.

Catalpa can also be successfully started by taking cuttings from old stumps about the first of March. These cuttings can be planted in the regular irrigated nursery rows. Seedling trees may also be obtained from any good commercial or state nursery. Young trees are usually available at approximately five dollars per thousand for hardwood and eight dollars per thousand for conifers. Many states operate nurseries in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, which will furnish trees at cost ($1.50 to $10 per thousand). Farmers agreeing to cooperate in tree planting as part of a general soil erosion control program may receive 3000 trees free and others at cost—county agents usually have information about such programs.

However one begins, it must be remembered that trees are alive and must be treated as other living things. No one would think of putting an animal in an airtight box without food or water, yet many people dig young tender living trees for transplanting and then leave them exposed to the air and sun for long periods and are surprised when they fail to grow. For good results, young trees should be exposed only momentarily. The hole or opening into which the young tree is to be transplanted should be prepared in advance and be large enough so that the roots will not be cramped or twisted when the rootball is placed in its new location. The dirt should be well packed around the roots and then watered. Young seedlings should always be transplanted about one inch deeper than when in the nursery row. All broken roots or limbs should of course be cut off with sharp pruning shears before the trees are replanted to lessen the loss of sap and the chance for disease to get started in the broken area.

In Oklahoma, trees should be planted from December 1 until winter or as early in spring as the soil can be worked, but not later than April 1. All plantings of young trees must be protected from livestock and such insect pests as grasshoppers.

Not over half an acre of ground need be set aside for this purpose unless one intends to produce posts for sale. Trees should be planted in rows four by six or three by eight, preferably the first. With this spacing for planting a half acre will accommodate 866 trees which is enough for the replacement of posts on an average farm. Seven to nine years should see the first effective production on catalpa or bois d' arc, ten or twelve years for the initial harvest of red cedar. Red cedar, while beautiful and furnishing an effective windbreak, must be replaced with new planting after production begins, whereas catalpa can be cut out and will produce new trees from old stumps in six or seven years depending upon the size of post desired. It is always well to prune a catalpa grove at the beginning of each growing season to remove all but two or three sprouts from the old stump so the second growth will not be too thick. Bois d' arc also produces a second growth which can be handled in the same way. Thus one can select the straight healthy stock which will produce suitable post material. Accurate information with regard to the best choice of trees in any particular state can be secured from the state Forestry Department, from the State Agricultural College, or from the Department of Agriculture in Washington.—*Correll*

21. PRESERVE BY DRYING

A NEW idea frequently gains currency because of its novelty, without due analysis of the values in older methods which it replaces. Canning food, relatively new to many Indian areas, has recently received added impetus, and throughout the service emphasis on canning is causing many to forget that there are other older and equally valuable methods of food preservation.

Long before the White man came to America the Indians dried and stored enough food to carry them through the winter. The Indians today still use this method of preservation but not to the extent they did and should. One can still go into Hopi, Potawatomi, Sioux, and other tribal homes and find ample food to carry a family through a year or two. Not long ago two Indian Service employees visited a Sioux home at Cannon Ball, North Dakota. They found enough dried tea (two kinds), corn, squash, pumpkin, wild turnips, wild grapes, buffalo berries, June berries, and chokecherries to carry the family through the winter, and longer if an emergency arose. The prize collection of dried food for the whole winter was all kept in a medium sized trunk. The dried foods were stored in sacks which are much less expensive and lighter than cans or glass jars.

The rays of the sun were one of the first methods of preservation. For hundreds of years Indians dried fruits, vegetables and strips of meats.

Fruit is dried by exposing it to sunshine and dry air. The warm air circulating over the fruit takes out the moisture, reducing the size. For this reason there is more sugar in proportion to the amount of fruit.

A careful study shows that dried fruits serve the same purpose in the body as do fresh fruits. They contain the same essentials except the water, which is removed when the fruit is dried. Cooking restores a part of the water but has little effect upon the food value. Thus there is a place for dried fruits in every diet, especially where the income is moderate or low. Children should be encouraged to cultivate a taste for dried fruit during the formative periods of their early training—it is preferable to candy, from a health standpoint.

Peaches are often both dried and canned by the Indians of the Southwest. The following comparison may prove interesting.

						Vitamin	*Units*	
Food	*Measure*	*Protein*	*Fat*	*Carbo.*	*Calcium*	*A.*	*B.*	*C.*
Peaches, dried	2 halves	1.1	.2	20.5	88	400	10	4
Peaches, canned	2 halves 1 tbsp. juice	.7	.1	10.8	47			5
Peaches, fresh	1 medium	.5	.1	12.0	51	2000	present	9

The above comparison shows that dried fruit is richer in vitamin units than the canned. This comparison will hold for most fruits and vegetables but in varying amounts.

Thus when considering the preservation of home grown fruits and vegetables, drying has much to commend it; more vitamins are preserved than by canning, a greater caloric value is retained, much less storage space is required, and the cost of containers is reduced to a minimum.

In considering the *purchase* of preserved food, dried foods are the most economical from the standpoint of providing the greatest number of calories per one cent spent. The Department of Agriculture offers these comparisons:

Legumes	*Calories for 1c*
Dried Peas, beans and lentils	100-135
Canned peas, beans and lentils	35-55
Vegetables	*Calories for 1c*
Potatoes, Irish and sweet	72-175
Fresh winter vegetables	25-40
Succulent	5-15
Canned vegetables	5-25
Fruits	*Calories for 1c*
Dried	40-75
Fresh	10-30
Canned	15-40

The above figures should furnish food for thought to those who are formulating an economic philosophy with reference to reservation-wide food policies. The facts are that as far as money is concerned one cent will buy more calories of dried legumes, fresh vegetables and dried fruit than it will buy of canned legumes, vegetables or fruits.

When faced with the fact that for a family of small income, food costs may easily absorb from 30 per cent to 50 per cent of the total—it is apparent that dried foods deserve thoughtful consideration.

—*Helbing*

22. COMMON SENSE INSIDE THE HOME

THERE is a story of a small boy who deeply admired his efficient and kindly father. When he became the leader of a gang, he insisted that his followers should imitate every one of the father's characteristics: Honesty, reliability, special kind of garters, clearing the throat before an important statement. White people, who admire their civilization and the great things it has accomplished, have sometimes the same innocent habit of thrusting on other races what might be termed the garters and the throat clearing of their own culture.

One might bring up numberless examples, but apply the idea to housing: every region and climate has worked out a dwelling suited to its own environment and economic conditions. White people of northern descent, who generally live in temperate climates, with plenty of woodland, have developed the wooden house. Yet they have felt no hesitation in going to places like Arctic Canada and the semi-tropical deserts of Arizona and bidding the native people to give up their snow and stone houses or their arbors open to the air and take to wooden houses. Wooden houses are civilized. Wooden houses are best.

Of late years the fallacy of that statement has begun to be understood. The wooden house is not suited to extremes of temperature. It is cold in winter and hot in summer. It does not remain shipshape unless it is scrubbed and painted; operations for which many regions have no facilities. One can smile, now, at the effort made by a bygone administration to bring wooden houses to the Mission Indians all the way around Cape Horn, when they had adobe in their own back yards. Is the same amount of judgment being applied today to other matters in the realm of housing and housekeeping?

The actual structure of a house, may well depend on the environment; stone where stone is plentiful, wood where there is wood, adobe where there is adobe. The size, the wall thickness, the arrangement of rooms, will depend on the needs and habits of people of the neighborhood. Consider the furnishings. Forget those of a house in a temperate climate, with the style standards of a White American village, and ask what characteristics are required in *any* furnishings. The answer might be: Neatness, comfort, usefulness, beauty.

In helping people with their housing problems, therefore, in any environment, one should consider how neatness can be achieved. Many Indian groups, unused to many possessions, have no arrangements for putting away all the welter of things which they acquire under White influence. Their old tipis, wickiups, or earthen houses were neat enough, with the bow and arrows and the basketry materials securely slung from the roof or other suitable place. But there is no traditional place for the clothes, tools, toys, old magazines, old automobile parts which have been acquired in the new form of life. A teacher, Indian or White, who is helping with a clean-up program, should put his common sense to work to devise hooks, closets, shelves out of the material that is at hand. Then he will consider ways of controlling the dust and the soot which may result from windstorms or an open fire. He will consider the advantages of a hard floor as opposed to a dirt floor. What can it be cheaply made of? How can it be kept clean? Can the walls be whitewashed? Should anything be hung over them? These are some of the first problems in fitting an old style Indian house, comfortably suited to the climate, to the multiplicity of new possessions.

Is it comfortable? Probably it was when its inmates led the outdoor life of old time Indians. Now perhaps, they will enjoy a new stove, mattresses instead of blankets, even beds. But none of these things is good simply in itself. It is good if it suits the program of the people in the house, if it can be easily obtained and easily taken care of. Maintenance is quite as important a matter as initial cost. If the house owner does not really want to take care of a new possession, he will do far better to go without it. And the teacher will do far better not to suggest it.

Usefulness is a matter well understood by most Indian house owners and they will probably not be troubled to acquire anything not necessary either for pleasure or service. It is the White teacher, or the Indian trained in White standards, who should be careful at this point. What usefulness is there in the new bedspread, the vase, the table cloth, the rug for the floor? Here we run into the next category, beauty, and we find that, in the realm of common sense, beauty and usefulness should be discussed together.

Modern students are finding that the old Indian life was full of beautiful things. *But not one of them was for ornament only.* The Indian lived too close to practical necessity to bother with the equivalents of vases or doilies. He—or let us say she—made beautiful pots, elaborate baskets, complicated textiles. But every one of them was for use or wear and they derived some of their beauty from that very fact. Except in the houses of the ultra rich, usefulness is still the best criterion of beauty.

The idea that beautiful things are to look at and not to use is a snobbish idea, born of the time when peasants were first turning to white collar jobs. Before that time the pots, the chests, the furniture even in a poor man's house, all had been made beautiful as well as useful. And today real taste should consist in seeing that everything we use in daily life is as beautiful as we can make it. This is the principle which we might teach to Indians interested in making a home in the White manner. To teach them to use ugly things, kept in disorder, while a few useless but supposedly ornamental things stand about, is stupid snobbery.

The housing and furnishing problem is a pressing one with every teacher and community worker. If she is not helping in the practical furnishing, she is forming the pupils' opinions on the subject. Discard the garters and the throat clearing—the superficial furbelows of home-making,—which may have been emphasized without ever analyzing their worth and seek instead some commonsense solution for the problem, using the new materials and the labor saving devices which are the real merit of our civilization, to achieve beautiful utility.

—*Underhill*

23. ELIMINATE DUST CATCHERS

DRAPERIES and doilies, antimacassars and table scarfs have become a stock-in-trade of most home economics teachers as well as the average housewife. Whether they are fluffy and flounced, hand-embroidered or factory-printed depends somewhat upon fashion, largely upon individual taste; but most women have been brought up to feel that home is hardly home till "the curtains are up."

The thoughtful housewife and the more experienced home economists and interior decorators, however, always consider practicality and usefulness as well as beauty. Conditions vary, and the appropriateness of cloth decorations in the average Indian home must be judged by factors other than style or White custom. Many Indian families live on lands of much dust and little water. Throughout the Southwest, in western Oklahoma, and in the Dakotas, the winds blow and dust trickles through all the tiny crevices of every structure, penetrates the meshes of every fabric and is all pervasive. The same areas suffer from inadequacies of water. Until the coming of the White man, human and animal life were both dependent upon occasional springs or small reservoirs created by simple earthen checkdams. As the dry season advanced, both sources of water tended to disappear for they were the result of seasonal rains which were not always dependable. The primitive tribes existed on rations of water which required the elimination of all but its most necessary uses. Bathing and laundering were not thought of for long periods of the year. These periods usually coincided with the warmer seasons, when clothing was largely dispensed with. The penetrating rays of the sun supplied hygienic sterilization of whatever they reached, and the pigmentation of the Indian skin offered protection from sunburn.

The White man has introduced wells and occasionally other methods for developing or conserving water, which have somewhat bettered the situation—but he has also insisted on clothing and stresses bathing and laundering, which have greatly increased the demands upon the still limited supplies of water. In view of these facts, the introduction of fabrics into home decoration may well be questioned.

The basic objectives of home decoration —to give an air of neatness and to introduce color in attractive amounts—are commendable. But cannot these objectives be achieved by other means than fabrics?

24. WHAT IS AN IGLOO?

MOST Americans when they hear the word igloo, think of a beehive shaped hut, formed of snow blocks cut from drifts with a bone knife and carefully fitted together, to serve as a winter home for an Eskimo family. Such is the tragedy of uniqueness—for the description fits a very few Eskimo, living in a restricted area of northern Canada, around the Mackenzie River. The great majority of Eskimo, living in Alaska, Labrador or Greenland have never seen such a snow hut. Yet because the idea is picturesque, and not very many people know anything about Eskimo anyhow, most textbooks and picture story books about Eskimo have them all living in snow igloos.

Alaska Eskimo, who are American citizens, keenly and justly resent the misrepresentation, and look upon people who write such misinformed books as careless and ignorant. Sometimes the children in our Eskimo schools write to authors or textbook publishers, asking that the error be corrected.

If an igloo isn't a snow hut, what is it?

Igloo is the Eskimo word for home, and applies to any kind of more or less permanent dwelling. If Alaska Eskimo lived in snow huts, they would call them igloos. As they don't, the igloo takes a variety of forms. Probably many of the original Alaska igloos were structures dug partly into the ground, and then built up from there out of drift wood, whale bone or stone, usually banked around with a wall of sod cut from the tundra, to keep out the wind and cold. One or two villages in scrubby spruce forests, built log igloos. In places where drift wood, stone or similar materials are hard to get, the walls were often built entirely of sod. The roof is usually drift wood and where forests grow, of logs. Each igloo is reached through a long, low corridor, which may be lengthened still more when the snow comes, so that the entrance is clear of the snow drifts, and the drafts are kept from the inside of the igloo. The igloo usually has but one room, although now-a-days many igloos can be found which have two or more rooms. Originally, many igloos had at least one window, made with transluscent skin from the intestines of the whale or seal. Now-a-days, glass is often used, but in the winter it is covered with a storm-sash of intestine.

White men have greatly influenced the Eskimo home in many parts of Alaska, and whole villages will be found where the homes are all built of lumber, imported from the states. Some villages have even found that pre-cut houses can be bought with advantage from firms in the United States. In other villages, the corridor entrances are often built of wood, or other White-man's materials, while the living room remains of log or stone as in the past.

While the wood houses are more familiar to Whites than the older structures, and therefore seem better, they are frequently harder to heat or to ventilate than the native structures, and haven't always been an improvement. In winter storms it is necessary to have an air-tight house, because the Eskimo must depend mostly on whale-oil lamps for warmth. Few of them live in a country where wood grows, and while some of the villages are located near veins of coal, it is often coal of a poor quality which is hard to burn. Petroleum oils are too expensive to import, because of the great cost of transportation. Eskimo houses therefore have few rooms, and these rooms are not very large—for it is better to be warm and comfortable than to have a lot of extra space. Rooms 10 feet by 12 are found, but the size is often determined by the length of the materials which can be found out of which to build the roof.

A few Alaska Eskimo fashion a temporary shelter of snow blocks when caught out in a blizzard on the ice, when walrus or seal hunting, but it is not common. Others build a low wall of snow blocks to the windward as a protection from the cold when they are fishing for tom-cod through a hole cut in the ice.

When Eskimo cling to their native building materials, or native whale oil heaters, it is not always because they don't know about lumber, or coal or kerosene. It is because they have learned by experience that the native materials are best in the circumstances under which they live. It is possible to find Eskimo villages, in which the homes are lit by electricity from a community owned light plant, while the homes themselves are very much like the ones their ancestors built before the White man was heard of. Electric light is good illumination for ivory carvers during the long dark winter, but native style houses are easier to keep warm. The modern Eskimo is able to weigh values, and choose those best suited to his needs.

An igloo is NOT a snow house—but a home, made of the most suitable materials available.

25. ROOT CELLARS

NOW is the opportune time to build new root cellars or to repair and renovate old root cellars to provide

Cool Moist Storage—In Root Cellar
for
A. Irish Potatoes, Root Crops, Cabbage,
B. Apples, Pears

Cool Dry Storage—In Root Cellar
for
Onions, Dry Peas, Beans, Garlic

Warm Dry Storage—In Attic or Closet
for
Vine Crops
Sweet Potatoes, Squash, Pumpkin

Storing fruits and vegetables in outdoor cellars is one of the most satisfactory and most inexpensive methods of conserving surplus foods for winter use. Many excellent plans for building storage cellars have already been worked out by the United States Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural Colleges of the different states, and any school which plans to build or remodel a root cellar should obtain the plan that has been worked out by the Agricultural College nearest to it to serve as a guide in the construction program. With this wealth of material available it is surprising to find that many root cellars in the Indian Service have been poorly constructed. Prevention of waste should be one of the main objects in the curriculum.

Here are some suggestions that may prove helpful in planning for adequate aeration and humidity, in securing a desirable degree of temperature, in providing suitable inside storage spaces and facilities and to point out some methods that have proved satisfactory for storing different types of vegetables and fruits.

Schools that plan to build new root cellars or to remodel old ones should do three things before beginning the actual construction:

1. Select a well-drained site.
2. Estimate the quantity of products for which storage space will be required—this will determine the dimension of the cellar.
3. List the kinds of vegetables for which storage space will be required—this will determine the inside construction and facilities.

If the cellar is to be built in a locality where the winters are mild, the construction can be almost entirely above ground. In areas where the weather is very severe in winter much of the cellar should be built below ground except in areas where there is water close to the surface of the ground. If the latter condition exists, the cellar will have to be built above ground and layers of dirt, leaves, straw, corn fodder or manure will have to be used to provide the necessary additional protection. Corn husks, shavings, sawdust, soft coal cinders, and leaves make good insulating materials for the walls and roof of the cellar. The inside temperature can be more easily and more accurately controlled if the storage cellar is built with double doors.

The ideal cellar will have three storage compartments each separated by partitions from the others and each provided with its own air inlet and its own ventilator equipped with a damper. These facilities will enable the person responsible for the care of the cellar to control the degree of humidity and the temperature in each compartment. A thermometer, hung about half way between the floor and the ceiling, and a barometer will do away with uncertainty regarding the temperature and humidity of the storage place.

The compartment used to store potatoes, root crops and cole crops (any plant of the same genus as cabbage) will have to be kept cool and moist. A temperature of 35° F. to 38° F. is the most favorable. (Commercial potato storage houses preferred a temperature of 40° F. for potatoes rather than a lower temperature.) A dirt floor will usually provide sufficient moisture but, if the floor is of concrete, it may be necessary to put a layer of sand or dirt over it to provide the desired moisture. In very dry climates, a pan of water placed on the floor of the cellar, will help to maintain the correct degree of humidity. Papers or sacks placed over the different foods will lower the rate of evaporation and tend to prevent shriveling.

A second compartment would be for the storage of apples and pears which also keep best under cool, moist conditions, but which cannot be stored with cabbage because they will absorb its odor. They may be stored in bins, but will probably keep best if wrapped in wax, tissue or newspaper and placed in boxes. The labor involved in wrapping the choice products will pay good dividends.

In the third compartment where onions, dry peas and beans are to be stored the temperature should be kept at about 35° to 38° F. but the air should be only moderately moist. Here the vegetables should be stored in open mesh containers such as boxes, crates, baskets or sacks, so that there will be free circulation of air to allow for evaporation of moisture. There should be slatted floors in this part of the cellar; they should be from four to six inches above the floor and placed from four to six inches away from the side walls. They, too, will make provision for free circulation of air. If the slatted floors are built in sections, they may be taken outside for scrubbing and sunning.

For sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and squash which require dry conditions, the best storage temperature is 50° to 55° F. An attic or closet will prove more satisfactory than a cellar for their storage. If the squash and pumpkins are placed on shelves with a small space between each two, they will keep approximately six months. Sweet potatoes may be stored in crates, baskets or burlap sacks.

Only late maturing varieties of vegetables and fruits should be stored. They should be firm, free from bruises and decayed spots and not infested with worms or insects; they should be neither over-ripe nor under-ripe. Much loss during storage is caused by careless handling both at the time of picking and when packing and every effort should be made to prevent bruising and cutting during these harvesting operations.

It is well to keep in mind that vegetables and fruits in storage are parts of living plants and that they respire, break down and decay. During respiration considerable heat is given off and if large quantities of food are stored in one bin, the products of respiration cannot easily escape and may tend to hasten decay and spoilage because of a rise in temperature. In many cases better results might be obtained by storing vegetables and fruits in several small bins, instead of one large bin. It is estimated that respiration, breakdown and decay is about doubled with each 18° F. rise in temperature above freezing.

If the children in Indian schools are to have an adequate supply of foods during the trying years that lie ahead, it will be necessary to employ every good method of conserving all food surplus to present needs and to see that not one ounce of food is wasted.

The aim of every school, every employee, and every student in the school should be:

1. To raise the biggest possible amount of food—both for animals and humans.
2. To conserve those foods in whatever manner will be most economical and will produce the best product from the standpoint of nutrition, appearance and palatability.
3. To be as near self sustaining, nutritionally, as is humanly possible.

Patriotically, they should pledge themselves.

1. To waste no food.
2. To take from commercial sources no foods which the school, itself, can raise.

The following bulletins give helpful advice and instructions regarding the building and use of storage cellars:

Home Storage of Vegetables
Farmers Bulletin No. 879—5c
Order from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

Potato Storage and Storage Houses
Farmers' Bulletin No. 847—5c
Order from Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

Bulletin 533—Extension Division, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Plans for a reinforced concrete underground cellar can be obtained from the same source at a cost of 50c.

Plans for constructing a storage pit are also obtainable from the Mississippi State College, at a small cost.

—*Helbing*

26. CONSERVE WHAT WE HAVE

IT WOULD seem axiomatic that if human beings are to remain permanently as residents of any area the products of that area must be adequate to support life, or valuable enough to the world outside to be exchanged for subsistence needs. The need to occupy an area is seldom great enough to justify the continued furnishing of supplies by the better stocked areas.

Here and there forbidding regions have been tamed by man, usually by men who were willing to limit their own standards of living, and who found some basic satisfactions in the type of life which became possible. The Hopi wise men say that the mesas of northern Arizona were chosen by the leaders of long ago because they were so barren that only an industrious race like the Hopi could make a living there, and that the forbidding character of the region would protect them from the attacks of other tribes who might be jealous of a more inviting country and attempt to displace them. The very barrenness of their chosen homeland offered them peace and protection.

The Eskimo and the Alaska Indian developed a subsistence economy in a land equally barren, adjusting **their standards of life** to the possibilities of their environment. The coming of the White man with his desire for furs and ivory, represented an economic value which potentially promised an improved standard of living for the exchange, while not necessaritly depleting the natural resources essential to life, permitted the importation of new things which might make life easier or better. Furs, for instance, bought metal knives, fire arms and ammunition, and other "White man's goods," that simplified hunting and fishing and permitted the same amount of effort to produce a richer return.

On the other hand the White man's desire for the whale oil, seal skin, and walrus ivory led to competitive hunting of these sea mammals with ultimate serious loss to the natives, for the White man sought only the "luxury" products and wasted the food elements. He was equipped mechanically to destroy many more animals than the native could kill, thus depleting the supply and tending ultimately to rob the native of his basic sources of life.

While many of the products offered to the native in "trade" for his furs or his ivory or whatever else he had that the White man wanted, formed a contribution to improved living on the part of the native, this was not intentional on the part of the White trader. He was equally willing to exchange beads, tobacco, canned fruit or other luxury products for the things which he wanted. In fact he often made a real effort to develop on the part of the native a taste for something which the native would have been better off without, as for example, liquor. So the net result of trade with the richer areas of the earth has not always been an improved standard of living for the native of the poorer areas.

If we add to the deliberate debauchery practiced by the trader, the "civilizing" influence of the missionary or the teacher or other well wisher of the native, we frequently find an equally serious destructive effect which was not intended as such. Coming from lands of greater bounty and themselves accustomed to different foods and types of clothing, these apostles of civilization brought to the native a confused assortment of good and bad.

Used themselves to many-roomed homes of wood, they were shocked to find many people living together in one room hogans, tipis, or igloos. Accustomed to buying coal or wood or fuel oil by telephone they were blithely unconscious of the fact that the mesa of the Navaho, the plains of the Dakota, or the tundra of the Eskimo were niggardly in the production of fuel, and that a small room is more economically heated than a large one. Because they found the odor of burning whale oil offensive, it was easy to advocate the substitution of kerosene stoves. They ignored the fact that whale oil could be had for the effort to go and get it, and came as a by-product of the winter food supply, whereas kerosene was an importation secured with difficulty and at a price much higher than that paid by the White man in his own home.

Food is largely a matter of habit and environment. One learns to eat what is available and to like what one is accustomed to eat. So each race carries its taste with it as it travels. And in exchanging courtesies, or conferring benefactions, it is natural to give of the thing one values or prefers. So Whites early began to introduce White foods to native peoples, regardless of whether these newer foods could be easily obtained in the native area. For example, the Indian Service for years has been importing food grown in the United States to its two Alaska boarding schools and forcing Alaska youngsters to get used to these new foods even though they can never become a desirable and economic addition to the Indian, Aleut or Eskimo diet in Alaska.

If the youngsters do eventually develop a taste for white flour, sugar and canned goods, they are becoming dependent upon a cash economy at a time when their products of exchange are lessening in amount, and learning to neglect the native food supplies upon which they must naturally depend.

Isn't it time to begin seriously to examine the resources of Indian and Eskimo homelands, and adjust the teaching and the new experiences which are introduced to the potentialties of these areas? Outboard motors, even at doubled or trebled costs for gasoline, may earn a legitimate return on the investment, in terms of more fish caught or a wider range for hunting. A Kohler electric plant may pay dividends in eyesight conserved and more handicrafts produced. An intercommunicating short wave radio may save lives or bring up-to-date price quotations on native products.

But buying canned fruit instead of dried fruit may be doubling or trebling the cost of the article without increasing the amount of nourishment purchased; face powder and rouge may absorb the funds which might better have been spent on kerosene for head lice; candy and refined sugar may contribute to bad teeth when the money might better have gone to buy dried fruits or vegetables. Not only is there need for careful selection in the purchase of imported supplies, but there is also need for continuous emphasis on the importance of continuing the production and use of the native foods and other supplies contributed by the environment.

How can one justify the purchase of store fruit, while encouraging or permitting neglect by the Chippewa and Sioux of the buffalo berries or choke cherries of their own hills, by Tlingits of the salmon berries of their coastal forests or by Eskimo of the blue berries of the tundra? Together with every effort made to widen the economic base of native peoples, must go continued emphasis on perpetuation of the hunting, fishing, gardening, and fruit or seed gathering activities which use to the full advantage the native resources of their areas.

12.

WAR AND EDUCATION

1. WAR AFFECTS CURRICULUM

SCHOOL reopened in the fall of 1942 in an atmosphere of war. The accelerated tempo of enlistments and employment in war work had depleted the ranks of the teaching staff, removed most of the older boys, and begun to make inroads on the older girls, all of which emphasized that the schools of the Indian Service today face a dual responsibility. We must not lose sight of the basic educational responsibilities which are ours, but on the other hand, we must recognize the national need for training which will serve the war effort in the quickest time.

It is, of course, impossible to see far enough into the future to conclude what is going to happen to anybody after the war is over. All we have to go by is the remembrance of what happened to Indians after the last war and during the depression of the 1930's. In each instance when employment on the outside decreased, Indians were among the first to be let out, and being unable to support themselves in idleness in the cities, they naturally returned to their homes on the reservations. On these previous occasions the training which had made it possible for them to be away from the reservations had tended to unfit them for subsistence activities on the reservation, and as a result they became a non-working burden for their families and ultimately for the government, requiring support through rations, welfare payments, or made work. In most instances there was a great deal of real work which might have been done on reservations where vast acreages of Indian land under lease to Whites might have been used by Indians themselves for agriculture or stock raising had they been trained for such work.

In the last decade the curriculum in many of our Indian schools has been remade with a view to preparing Indian young people to make a living through the exploitation of Indian resources. This education which was pertinent before the war is just as pertinent today through the early high school years, because it will prepare these young people for self-sufficiency in a rural environment; if at the end of the war that is what they must turn to—and there is every reason to believe that it will be for many of them.

Despite all of the present plans for industrial activities to take up the slack when war orders cease, it must be recognized that the largest body of men ever to be withdrawn from non-industrial activities will be released on the labor market at the conclusion of this war, when an army of eight to ten million men is disbanded. Older men now engaged in industrial activity and many of the women who have been introduced to industry by the war emergency will not willingly join the ranks of the unemployed simply to make way for returned soldiers.

Yet we face the fact that, aside from itinerant agricultural labor, we have today one of the highest periods of industrial employment in the history of the country. Minority groups are therefore likely to suffer displacement when selectivity is again necessary.

On the other hand the war emergency is with us. The battle has become world-wide and is in the deepest sense a people's war, from the effects of which no one of us can escape. Our nation is drafting the youth of the land for the armed forces or for industrial activity, and it is our responsibility to speed their usefulness by offering training in the period immediately preceding their induction which will equip them to make an immediate contribution to the war effort.

Women are already being inducted into industry in large numbers and several of our non-reservation schools have been training girls for welding and machine shop practice. It is our belief that most industrial training can best be carried on at the non-reservation schools. Emphasis in the reservation schools can well be upon the production of increased food and the preparation of young people for employment in agricultural and livestock activities on the nation's farms and ranches where the need for labor is fully as great as in the factories and shipyards. Students from the reservations desiring industrial training will be welcomed at the non-reservation schools.

2. BRINGING CURRICULA UP TO DATE

IN building an educational program we must stress the importance of meeting the needs of the people with whom we are dealing, but we cannot now wholly assume the curricula previously developed will meet the needs of Indian people living in a democracy which is engaged in a struggle for its life.

Vocational courses in the senior high schools should be designed particularly to train students for placement in vocations for which there is a demand and those directly related to the war effort. Some of our schools have developed worth-while courses which have given young men and women placement in war industries and other essential pursuits. Some of our schools are still offering one or more courses of doubtful value to the student and to the war effort. There is a tendency to keep in the curriculum courses which might better be a dropped to permit a place for those of more vital nature. These courses have been offered year after year apparently without thought as to their present desirability. It does not necessarily follow that because an employee happened to be hired years ago for a specific purpose, his work should be continued indefinitely in the same line, in the face of changed conditions and needs, even though he has no experience in a contemplated new field. Our schools should not be primarily concerned with the adjustment of curricula to employee ability. It is more incumbent upon the employee to adapt himself to new subjects and techniques which meet present vocational needs.

Such an adaptation on the part of instructors is not an imposition, nor is it an impossibility. It is surprising how readily some instructors and mechanics have adjusted to new duties once they have become sold on the idea. In some cases they have taken the initiative in preparing themselves for new fields of work. We have knowledge of employees who have made in-service changes from one trade to another or who have supplemented and increased their activities. A machinist learned the art of welding and successfully taught the course; a shoe repairman became an expert locksmith; an engineer learned the machinist's trade; an electrician became competent in combustion engineering; a plumber learned power-plant engineering and is now a chief engineer; a tailor learned sheet metal work. Many of our men by willingness to face new needs and problems can become efficient vocational teachers in fields related to present day industry if they have the will to do so, the guidance of administrative officers, and the opportunity.

Each of our high schools needs as never before to examine its entire program with a view to the inclusion of vital vocational courses and the exclusion of the nonessential, to which in the process of evaluation an affirmative answer cannot be given to the following questions:

1. Does the course offer positive placement possibilities?
2. Does the course offer training which can be used directly or indirectly to further the war effort?
3. Is the course well organized and effectually presented?
4. Does the course meet actual needs of the student rather than institutional needs of the school?

The student has a right to expect training that is intensive, thorough and effective, without waste of time, which will contribute to his ability to participate in the war effort of the nation on the home, agricultural or industrial fronts. No school should hold students in a course merely because it is one that contributes to institutional needs. Courses which might be offered in lieu of those discarded will vary widely from area to area. A thorough study by the school staff of possibilities in each area should uncover many opportunities. A wide-awake staff, tuned to the spirit of the times, can obtain much information for study. The planning of new offerings ought to have the combined thinking of the whole staff, for no one person has a corner on all the brains. Only limited changes should be attempted at one time. One or two worth-while things are better than a dozen half-hearted hit-or-miss attempts.

Perhaps the outstanding recent development in the use of manpower is the switchover now taking place in industry whereby thousands of women are being employed to replace men. This trend is advancing rapidly and Indian girls are finding many fields of employment open to them for the first time. Already they are being successfully employed in various industries for mechanical work and welding. A basic course designed to teach hand skills with tools is now an essential requisite for girls interested in entering industry.

Our schools need to emphasize those subjects which deal with the welfare of the family and home. The shortage of certain kinds of foods and the higher price of all foods presents a challenge. Progress has been made through Victory Gardens in many areas. This work needs to be even more strongly emphasized until every child and every teacher, takes pride in his production of food for home and school use. The scarcity of containers presents new problems related to food preservation which lend increasing weight to the need for the adoption of natural and forced methods of dehydration. Here is a field of effort into which every school can enter to its fullest capacity. However, it is not enough in itself to dry vegtables, fruits and meats. There are problems of dehydration concerned with the proper preservation of vitamins, storage, and appetizing preparation of meals from dried products. Here is an opportunity for home economics teachers with vision and initiative.

Schools may well develop other methods of preservation which can be used by Indian people and by the schools themselves, methods which do not require closed, airtight containers, including various methods of pickling, smoking, freezing, pit storage, the construction and use of ice wells and home made refrigerators of the evaporative type. This whole field offers much possibility for investigation and experimentation.

Now as never before there is need for careful investigation by schools, of practices in kitchens which relate to the preparation of food and elimination of waste. The average school kitchen and dining hall is entirely too wasteful. Children need to be taught the value of food and to appreciate it to the extent that excessive waste is cut. Cooks may well review the Manual for Cooks in the Indian Service which is obtainable from the Chicago Office. Schools which have tried the cafeteria system report economies of operation that definitely suggest the advisability of its being adopted by other schools.

Home economics departments should stress the preparation of well balanced meals for families with restricted cash incomes and the use of plain nourishing dishes with de-emphasis on items requiring high-priced products or materials not readily available in the area. There is little or no justification for the setting of impossible standards of food preparation. It should be remembered that more and more Indians must produce the greater part of their food. Great possibilities lie in down-to-earth home economics training involving gardening, poultry, rabbits, and the keeping of a milch cow or goats.

The increased cost of ready-made clothing makes it more important today for girls to learn to do all the family sewing and remodeling of garments. Much can be done everywhere to develop home improvement projects using materials which cost little or nothing. Careful attention to subjects relating to hygiene and health, prenatal care, child care and family relations, is necessary. With increased placement of graduates in many fields of endeavor far from home and friends, it becomes increasingly important that schools adequately prepare students to meet problems incident to living among strangers in urban areas. It does not suffice for us to train young people for jobs and immediately turn them loose with the necessity of making many personal living adjustments without some preparation which will assist in meeting the new problems they will face. This suggests the necessity of school authorities informing themselves and discussing these problems openly with the student.

Industry is geared to the use of machines. One who would fit into the present day scheme of industrial employment may need some mastery of mathematics as well as knowledge of the laws of physical science. Certainly today's importance of these subjects should not be overlooked.

The immobilization of many automotive units because of rubber shortage and gasoline rationing is already creating transportation problems and definitely suggests the horse as the most economical substitute. The raising and handling of horses offers excellent opportunities for training. This field of effort includes not only horses but all the equipment used with them. The importance of training in this whole field is strongly urged, for there is no doubt that it has been neglected under the impetus of automobile travel in late years.

As this country attempts to counteract those forces which are directed toward its ruin, our schools may well make sure that students are given a thorough grounding in the fundamental principles of democratic government and a background of historical knowledge to assist them in appreciating those principles upon which the nation was founded.

No school program would be complete without an adequate health program in its widest sense. None of the foci of emphasis which have been mentioned are of great value unless our schools help build strong, healthy bodies. Workers need to be able to think clearly and to do their jobs well but above all they need the stamina of good health. We should not minimize the importance of morale building activities and their effect on the student body as a whole. The school staff must judge itself as to its leadership on many factors. Student morale is not likely to rise above the level of that of the staff.—*Spaulding*

3. PATTERN FOR PEACE

WITH the utmost reluctance the United States finds its armed forces actively engaged throughout the world in the most bitter war in history. For 20 years a live and let live philosophy has characterized both our foreign relations and our internal policy. For us the cataclysm has been free of repressed hates. We feared no one. We coveted nothing. We wished to live at peace with all mankind. Despite these sentiments American fighting men are more widely dispersed than at any time in the life of the republic. We are fighting men of all colors in all climates and over every conceivable terrain. In the face of unprovoked attack there is a grimness about American fighting men, but but there is a surprising absence of personal bitterness and hate.

Despite the concern with this phenomenon expressed by a number of armchair strategists and a few military commanders, it is believed that this emotional condition is after all a natural and desirable condition. This war or any war is but a transitory phase of world relations. After a brief but bitter upheaval it will be necessary for the people of the world to settle down to some kind of peaceable personal relationships. World trade will be resumed, citizens of one nation will again work with citizens of other nations, and if some form of international organization can be devised which will guarantee justice to all while enforcing the peace through a system of international police, this old world is potentially ready for the greatest upsurge of creative social development which has yet occurred. If this is to happen and if permanent peace is to result, this war must be fought so as to leave a minimum of bitterness in the hearts of our adversaries.

Fear provokes war. To the extent that those nations with whom we are at war reach the terminus of the present struggle with the conviction that in the dominance which the United States may then exercise over world affairs they have nothing to fear, but are assured of justice, the tasks of peace will be by that much simplified. However, peace cannot be obtained or maintained on a niggardly basis. It has always been a paradox that men and nations will pour out treasure without stint to fight a war in the expectation of peace, but will pinch the pennies when it comes to spending generously to maintain peace through justice and generous dealings with other nations.

Unless this war is to be fought in vain and the American people again break faith with the men who carry our banners into battles in far places, we at home must keep our minds free from bitterness, and cultivate a determination that positive action toward world organization and permanent peace shall result from the present conflict.

4. UNITY DEMANDS LEADERSHIP

FOR four years from 1914 to 1918 the people of the United States were increasingly in the grip of a deep emotion. Led by a President better equipped than most to give eloquent expression to an ideal, we were led like Moses to a mountain peak and shown the promised land. We fought to make the world safe for democracy. We believed in a possible organization of nations which might through universal justice extinguish war as an instrument of public policy. We had the intoxicating experience of watching the leadership of that eloquent American fire the imaginations of the nations of Europe and ultimately sow discord in the ranks of the enemy. The German people revolted against the German government because they believed the promises Mr. Wilson made to them over the heads of their government,—and then we Americans lived through the aftermath when "a little group of willful men," Republicans and Democrats alike, devoted their lives to the frustration of these aims and objectives. The come-down for all of us was tragic and destructive.

The World War was followed by the cynical twenties. Callously we witnessed the economic disasters which overwhelmed Europe and determined that we would not again become entangled. We were willing to let Europeans pay the price for their own "stupidity." Schools suffered as seriously as any part of our world. Leadership was at a discount; idealism was disowned; opportunism ruled. Religious skepticism undermined the faith which had directed much of our earlier American life. The results of the muckraking of the preceding decade were seen in the assumption that most public men were animated primarily by the hope of gain, and efforts toward civic righteousness were considered naive.

America was not alone in having lost its soul. The peace of Versailles was not only a defeat for the victors, it ultimately destroyed the new governments that replaced the vanquished empires. After struggling for 10 years in the hope that some of the promises made by Mr. Wilson might be realized, Germany ultimately withdrew from the ranks of the democracies and began to listen to a new plea for unity and rehabilitation. Today many of us are shocked at the disregard shown by the Nazis toward the "verities" which we have always accepted, whether or not we practiced them.

While the new Nazi ideals and objectives have seemed to us destructive of all that we hold valuable, we have at least seen them preached with a religious fervor which was absent from our own leadership. We have seen the Nazis espouse concepts which are to us the antithesis of the maxims of McGuffey, and because these things are taught with virility and conviction we have seen a generation of young Germans, young Italians, and young Japanese rise in fanatic fervor to sustain them.

The youth of the democratic countries have been raised in skepticism, doubtful along with their elders that there are any values worth fighting for. We in the schools cannot escape responsibility for much of this uncertainty. We teachers and administrators have lacked conviction. We have pussyfooted and we have temporized and our children have grown up without the iron of conviction in their souls. Possibly one of our difficulties has been that we were teaching for broader internationalism,—which required the expansion of the in-group patterns which are psychologically basic in society; while the Nazis took advantage of this psychological fundamental to preach loyalty to the limited Aryan ideal and hatred, death, or destruction toward Jews and outlanders.

We ourselves have lacked unity. We have been conscious of the forces of disunity within our nation. As the schools are after all sensitive to the whims of the political party in power, school men have attempted to be neutral, little realizing that neutrality with regard to ethics and virtue whether they be personal or social, leads to stagnation and disintegration.

In the heat of a great war, differences tend to be minimized and unity stressed. We are again in a period when loyalities must be preached and emotion organized behind ideals. We must not make the error of the Nazis in preaching the narrow support of ourselves as against all others. We must accept and vivify the Four Freedoms expressed by President Roosevelt as the goal of the free nations in this people's war.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere.

And we must lead our youth to accept with the fervor of religious conviction these objectives for ourselves and for all people.

13.

INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS

1. NAVAHO WEAVING

"NAVAHO weaving" says Amsden, one of the authorities on the subject, "has always been, in part, an alien craft. Indeed, its most urgent stimuli have come from without the craft—Pueblo loom, Spanish sheep, English baize, Germantown yarn, American dyes." This art is, in fact, one of the most outstanding of that interesting group which combine White man's materials with Indian execution and prove the possibilities which have appeared and may again appear when influences from the two cultures work together.

We conjecture that the Navaho came to the Southwest sometime before 1500 A. D. and came, as it were, almost empty handed. They were skin clad hunters, living by the chase and by raiding for which last the Southwest gave excellent opportunity. Scattered over it were the peaceful Pueblo Indians, with their store houses full of corn and wearing on their backs not skins and bark, but cotton mantles woven by themselves on their native looms. Many of the villages were already under the guidance of missionary priests who had given them Spanish seeds, Spanish horses, Spanish sheep.

The Navaho took heavy toll of corn, cattle and women, and about 1680, they had special opportunities. At that date, the desperate Pueblo people rose and drove out the Spaniards. Then they so feared the vengeance which they knew would come, that they fled from their villages, leaving their flocks, often, to run wild. That was when the Navaho made their start in sheep raising, for they gathered up the strayed flocks and added to them as time went on.

We have no proof that the Navaho knew anything about weaving prior to this time. The rare simple weaving done in the northern land from which they came had no similarity to the loom weaving of the Southwest. But the Pueblo people had all been weaving since, at least, 1200 A. D., using an upright loom, such as the Navaho use now, and weaving cotton grown in the fields of some of the villages. In the western towns, like Hopi, men did the weaving, but in some of those further east, like Acoma and Jemez, women wove, too. It was near Jemez that the Navaho first settled and it seems very likely that their women learned the art of weaving from captured women of that and other Pueblos. But there was from the beginning, one great difference between Navaho and Pueblo weaving. Pueblo people wove in cotton but the Navaho wove in wool. They practised an old Indian art but with White man's material.

We have no idea when Navaho weaving began, though we are finding reports of it earlier and earlier in the 1700's. By 1799, at least, it was well started, for the Spanish reports speak of the Navaho bartering their blankets. To do that, they must have been making a fair number. The Navaho blanket of this period was actually a blanket, made to wear or to sleep under, not to lay on the floor as a rug. In style, it was like the famous old cotton blankets of the Pueblos, patterned in horizontal stripes of black or blue and white. The Navaho long continued to make such blankets for the Pueblo trade, for they soon began supplying their teachers.

But about 1800 the likeness between Navaho and Pueblo blankets came to an end. There began to arrive a new White man's material, seized upon eagerly by the Navaho, but ignored by the Pueblo who already had so many textiles of their own. This was bayeta. Bayeta or balleta is the Spanish word for baize, a heavy kind of flannel which was manufactured in England but shipped to Spain and, from there, to the Spanish Southwest, for trade with the Indians. The favorite color was red, a brilliant vermillion, such as no Indian vegetable dye would produce. Navaho traded for bayeta and, the accounts say, unravelled it to get the yarn. It provided a smooth, tight twisted thread much better than any they had yet spun with their native wool and gave color possibilities undreamed of before.

The result was a great blossoming of Navaho weaving. Women who loved the fine bayeta yarn tried to spin their own wool fine enough to match it. When they had done so, they naturally wove more closely, and no modern blanket can match the number of threads to an inch found in the blankets of the great bayeta period. Sometimes failing to obtain a fine enough thread of native material to match the bayeta, they solved the problem by spinning two or more bayeta threads together to equal their own yarn. To match the color, they experimented with vegetable dyes and produced lovely combinations of reds and browns and oranges. The new possibilities seem also to have stimulated them to more elaborate patterns, for they turned the simple horizontal stripe into zig zag lines and terraces. Thus did the importation of a White man's material in a new color produce a new and splendid period in an Indian art.

The bayeta period, with variations which there is not space to discuss, lasted until 1863, when the Navaho were conquered and taken to Fort Sumner. There followed four years of complete standstill, both in agriculture and the arts. When the Navaho returned to their homeland, they were wearing White man's cotton clothing and commercial blankets and after this they practically ceased to make blankets for their own wear. But they had been given sheep and goats to help in their new start. They were poor and they started making blankets for sale. Here the White trader steps into the story. There were many people interested in the Navaho, for reasons selfish and unselfish and it was some of the commercially minded ones who suggested that they weave the heavy floor rug for sale in the east. As aids to quick production, the traders brought in colored yarns, made in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and cotton warp. The Navaho women, anxious to make a living, started on an orgy of wild colors and large, barbaric patterns. This was probably the lowest point in Navaho weaving, centering in the first ten years after the return from Fort Sumner. Up to 1900 there continued a welter of hectic color and every kind of design. Toward the end of the period, Navaho women were coloring their own wool with aniline dye and trying every combination of the unfamiliar colors. We can recognize a rug of about 1890 by the coarse work, glaring colors and bold patterns usually surrounded by a border which attempts, unsuccessfully, to give them unity. This was the result of a boom based on quick sales and cheap materials. It, like the great bayeta period, is directly traceable to White influence.

It was the Whites themselves who tried to bring some better standards into the craft, beginning in about 1900. Fred Harvey, one of the largest merchants of Indian goods, had long been fighting against the cotton warp and paying higher prices for all-wool blankets colored with vegetable dyes. Moore, of Two Hills, had sent wool east for scouring and carding and then had it dyed and woven under his supervision. Under the direction of these and other intelligent traders, the wild, unrelated patterns began to be toned down and there appeared, within the rug border, small geometrical figures, often reminiscent of European and oriental patterns, such as the Greek key and the swastika. As time has gone on, there has been a determined drive, both from traders and philanthropists to urge the Navaho back to the old, soft vegetable dyes and simple patterns, and to do away with commercial yarn, aniline dye and cotton warp. Vegetable dyes require the long straight wool, with a minimum of grease, possessed by the old Navaho sheep. The Extension Division of the Indian Service in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture is experimenting at the Sheep Laboratory at Wingate to develop such a breed, which will also give first rate mutton. The Indian Service is experimenting with new kinds of textiles which can profitably be made by the Navaho.

This sketch of the art is a brief one but it indicates how Navaho weaving has been influenced, even controlled by Whites, at each stage of its development. The loom came from the Pueblo and the vegetable dyes, probably, from Pueblo and Navaho both. But all the materials came from the Whites: sheep wool, bayeta, the Saxony yarn which followed it for a short time, then Germantown yarn, aniline dye, cotton warp. For sixty years or so, since the Navaho came back from Fort Sumner, the art has, in fact, existed because of sales to the Whites. The purchasers, therefore, have it in their power to demand what they will and, if they themselves can be educated there are fascinating chances for development in this inter-racial craft.—*Underhill*

2. BEADWORK: A WHITE AND INDIAN PRODUCT

THOSE who study Indian art become more and more impressed with the movement and the change they find in each art considered. The craftsman or craftswomen were always learning from their neighbors: New designs, new materials, new uses, for their product. If the neighbors were White, the Indians learned from them quite as they would from other Indians. Sometimes more, for the Whites had more new things to contribute. So we find in some Indian crafts a constant history of learning some new material or pattern from the Whites, putting it into Indian style, learning again and adapting again until the art is a combined achievement of both races. Such is the case with beadwork.

Beadwork, as we think of it now, in the sense of all-over embroidery or woven bands of bright colored beads, did not begin until White traders came to America. Before that, the Indians decorated their buckskin garments and bags with the whitish quills of the porcupine, dyed with vegetable dyes and attached to the skin with sinew thread. It was a long, difficult task to get the quills, to dye them, to moisten and bend them into shape and then fasten them to the buckskin with a bone awl and a strand of twisted sinew. Yet Indian women over most of

Canada and the northern half of the United States spent days and months in quilling dresses, shirts, leggings, moccasins, bags, pipestems, canes, baby boards. The amount of quillwork now to be found in museums shows how great must have been their love of beauty and of craftsmanship. Each part of the country had its own style and it is interesting to see how, when new materials became available, the style was kept but every possible hint was taken for improving it.

White settlers began to move into the eastern states in the early 1600's but the real trading which spread their goods among the Indians, began in the 1700's, with the fur trade. Then French and English were rivaling one another and each had whole tribes of Indians who brought their canoe loads of fox and beaver to the trading station in exchange for goods. Among these goods were beads. Instantly the Algonkin and Iroquoian women recognized how much more colorful this new material was than the home-dyed porcupine quills and how much easier to work. They began to ask their husbands to bring home beads as well as guns and the husbands did.

These eastern women had an old traditional design of curving flowers and leaves, such as they had scratched on birchbark. They had made it with porcupine quills, but they found that the beads fitted the curves even better and so, with the new material, they elaborated their designs. First they used only a few beads, along with the quills, then more beads and finer, until at last the old stiff quills were discarded and the design was a brilliant and complicated one all of beads. The new material had been a means of improving the old design.

But meantime other materials had come, and again the women had welcomed them, as interested craftsmen always do. The buckskin on which they did their embroidery was not colorful; it was hard to clean and when it was wet, it shrank. Moreover, it was getting scarcer. So the women were delighted with the red and blue broadcloth and black velvet which the traders brought and with the cotten thread for sewing it. Soon their men were wearing broadcloth leggings and breechclouts and moccasins with velvet cuffs, all beautifully beaded. The White men had provided the materials. The Indians had supplied the art.

Now they found hints for improving their design also. At this time beadwork was the style in Europe and White ladies were embroidering scrolls of flowers and leaves which they called Renaissance and which can still be seen on marble mantelpieces and brocades and lambrequins of French and Italian palaces. The settlers' wives of America took up the style and, though they embroidered other things too, these flower scrolls were what appealed to the watching Indians. They were like their own, only more elaborate. So the Indian designs began to show grape leaves and roses, done in tiny beads and sometimes padded for a raised effect like the White ladies' embroidery. No one was forcing them to this change. The women were on the lookout for hints, like all designers. Their result was combination of French and Indian styles, as a Chippendale chair is a combination of English and Chinese.

But now beads had gone west. There they met a new group of women, the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho and others of the Plains, who had a different style but were also eager to improve it. These women had always made their quill designs in squares, and triangles and other geometrical figures. They took the first large, coarse beads the traders brought them and made the same designs. Then they seized upon the finer beads and made wider bands and more figures but they still kept to their straight lines. Even when they saw the curves of the easterners, they did not want them.

But towards the 1880's, there came a hint that they could use. Settlers were flooding through the Sioux country then and bringing an inexpensive rug, made in the Caucasus and much sold in America. It was full of lines, forks, terraces and triangles, like the embroidery of the Sioux women, but more elaborate. We have no actual proof that they copied these rugs but we can pick design after design from a rug and match it with a Sioux design, never seen before this period. It would seem that the alert Indian women had again adapted something from the Whites and made it their own.

By then they were using red and blue broadcloth, like their eastern sisters, and they, and the easterners too, were beginning to cut their men's clothes like those of the Whites; real trousers, coats, vests, shirts that opened down the front and had sleeves. Sometimes they made these in buckskin, sometimes in broadcloth. Today, a White man may dress up in just such clothes and call them "Indian Costume" without realizing that his beaded vest, beaded hatband and red broadcloth trousers with bead trimming, all are White man's material and decorated, perhaps, in a White man's design. These have been passed through the imagination of an Indian woman and have emerged in a combination the White man would never have thought of. In that sense, they really are an Indian costume.

This is the story of only two of the beadwork areas in North America, but in all of them we should find the same history of interchange. First, there is the old Indian mode of decoration, then a new material, which gives it further scope, then more material and further development. Each suggestion from the White world is used by the Indian in a way that the White man himself would not have used it. The result is a new art, for whose development both cultures were essential.

Viewed historically it becomes impossible to say that the beadwork of any period is more truly Indian and therefore better than any other. In every stage of development the Indians were using materials which had entered their environment and were adapting them to their uses. Indian beadwork whether it be on buckskin or cloth; whether its design be floral or geometric; must be judged by its beauty and utility, not by its authenticity as related to any period of time.

It must be recognized also that this adaptation of material and designs was a voluntary assimilation by which vital Indian art accepted that which gave it greater scope. During these periods of growth there was no attempt of one culture to impose itself upon the other. In opening up to the Indian artist or craftsman, new material, new media, or new methods, one must be careful to leave to him the assimilation of these culture elements. There must be no attempt to dictate the form which the art expression will take nor the medium which he will choose.—*Underhill*

3. THE OLD WAYS WERE SOMETIMES BETTER

CENTURIES ago when the Indian woman smoked the (green) hide of a freshly killed animal over a fire to tan it, she knew among other things that the wood in the fire should be of a certain stage of decay. Experience had taught her—the experience of many women before her—that water would not penetrate a hide that was smoked over such a fire.

Modern science knows the chemistry of that ancient method, and can state that it is the creosote from the smoke that has entered the skin, making it impervious to water.

Most peoples in their own fields are students; experimenters; experts. The self-education of the Indian that has proven most valuable to the White man is the Indians' native arts.

Self-education is the truest form of knowledge, whether for the Indian by her campfire or for the chemist in his laboratory. They travel different roads to arrive at similar conclusions. The White inventor saving time, saving labor, produces practical but not always beautiful objects. Of prime importance to the old Indian was the making of objects of beauty.

With the long period of discouragement in the recent past, Indian women have not had the opportunity to continue in their native laboratory. Their methods in the eyes of modern science are obsolete; in the eyes of White men, drudgery; and yet museum men tell us, and our own handling of the objects tells us, that the old hand-dressed leather is as fine and soft as the best modern work, and often, very often, better.

People living on the frontier of the world develop the strength and the resourcefulness with which to lessen the hardships of their lives. The housewife of colonial times was a specialist in the art of making a feather mattress. She early learned to save the feathers of her young pullets. They were softer; but their oily quills presented the problem of special washing, and by experiment she learned to wash in a big soapy tub of water, shaking them while rinsing. Nor was she afraid of work in trimming off the hard quills, in the end producing a superbly soft, superbly warm, and superbly inexpensive bed.

Indian people who lived in the waterless plains and deserts of North America had the problem of acquiring clean feathers without water. Native ingenuity (which is another word for self-education) taught them to kill their birds and prairie chickens at specific periods of the year—the period right before the molt, when the old feathers are dried out and little oil remains. The Indians, as the White housewives, knew that sunlight and water will clean out grease, and the sun will bleach. They knew, too, if a little grease is in the feathers they should not be put directly in the hot sun. Scientists explain that old housewives' wisdom with the simple yet profound statement that stained feathers come from oxidization which the sun causes.

The sun is a big factor in the laboratory of the Indian woman. She knows that to dry a green hide, she must not stretch the hide in the sun, but in a shady place where the wind will hit it. Men of colonial times and men in modern tanneries know of this ancient "air dry" method of preservation, and use it. It is no new story to the old Indian. She has graduated from many schools of thought and experience, where the silence of hard work and trial and error have equipped her with few scientific explanations; but only a careful craftsmanship.

When one sees today careless waste, sponsored by the White man, going side by side with poverty and want, unrelieved by White men, one longs for a revival of "the old ways." Let us recapture native methods of tanning and put the many skins discarded, or sold for a song, to good use warming the bodies of our Indians. They would be far warmer than burlap or paper stuffed quilts made from discarded army blankets. Let us conserve the many feathers burned outside the kitchens of many of our boarding schools and prepare them in the olden way—and use them to stuff these same patchwork quilts—if they are to be made. Here in truth—what was good enough for our grandparents was better than the modern substitute.—*Underhill*

4. LET'S MAKE HASTE SLOWLY

THE development of Indian arts and crafts is not a panacea that will cure all the economic ills under which the Indian suffers. In years past the Indian Office went too far in discouraging the native arts; today there is danger of going too far and too fast in our effort to perpetuate them.

In nearly every report, every book, that has recently been prepared, the case of San Ildefonso has been held up as a shining example of what might possibly be done elsewhere. Of course this is an unsafe thesis. San Ildefonso owes its financial success primarily to the fact that its chief product, the black polished pottery, is preeminently the one Indian product that fits perfectly into the decorative scheme of an average home, and at prices that are within the reach of the average purse. There is no reason at all to think that even with utmost help, the distinctive ceramics of Tesuque or Acoma, to pick two examples, could ever have the financial success that was the luck of San Ildefonso.

It is easy to look at some successful idea and to copy it. To copy avoids the thought and struggle connected with the development of a new idea. But copying can easily be overdone. It would not be difficult to make more black polished ware than the market could absorb. It would not be difficult to make it to sell at cheaper prices by speeding production and decreasing quality.

Most of our Indian schools teach arts and crafts, much of which is without relationship to available environmental resources, serves no useful purpose, and is not indigenous to the native culture. We can grant that the test of successful teaching is the production of a quantity of saleable materials. We can also grant that the easiest way at the moment, of covering all or part of the expense of such instruction is the sale of the articles produced.

It is perfectly natural therefore that there has been tremendous pressure for the creation of salesrooms or other sales places usually to be run in connection with schools. Along with products made in the schools such retail stores generally provide an outlet for work of the adults of the jurisdiction.

Selling by the schools of objects produced as a normal part of class activities is quite different from a general retailing enterprise on the part of the schools. The second procedure is open to the charge that the competition is unfair. The school sales room pays no rent, no taxes, no overhead. Private activities which in many places are vitally important can not prosper under such competition. Such school activities can not be financed from school budgets. Some are now being financed from the student activity fund at a risk too great for such a fund to take.

The Reorganization Act, the revolving credit funds, offer possibilities for the development of arts and crafts centers that most jurisdictions are apparently overlooking. Indian cooperative associations or other organizations should find here an attractive field.

5. WEAVING COMES TO PINE RIDGE—AND STAYS

THE Indian women who live in various communities on Pine Ridge Reservation have within the last few years gradually taken hold of weaving, which is a new craft for them. It has been slow but quite positive. The women did not rush into it and then as quickly lose interest, but instead their interest has continued to grow and to develop. Many have become skilled weavers. Most of them are slow, as they are with any hand work. It is doubtful if their speed will ever be very great. The quality of the work in most cases is excellent, which is more important than speed.

The weaving is done in the day schools or community buildings. The women who weave usually ride the school busses to and from their homes, and since the busses leave school early, the women have only four or five hours in which to work at the looms. Several women are anxious to buy their own looms so as to have them in their own homes, thereby giving them more time for production work. A large percent of the weaving that is being done on the reservation is being used in the homes of each community.

Recently a few spinning wheels have been placed in some of the larger day schools. A number of women are awaiting their turn to spin. The Little Wound day school has two spinning wheels and ten women have already learned to spin fairly well. Some 20 to 25 are still on the waiting list. They plan to use their first spinning in a saddle blanket which will be left at the school as an exhibition piece. A short time ago a suggestion was made to this group of women that they make blankets for their own beds. They immediately started planning this new step, when they realized that their spinning was fine enough. They discussed the cost of raw wool to make a blanket as compared to the cost of an all virgin wool blanket if purchased in the store, and realized how much to their advantage it would be to make their own blankets.

The spinning wheels are small (flax type) and fit nicely into the small homes on the reservation. The women already have a very good understanding of the loom and realize what can be done with the yarn once it is spun. It will not be long until a number of women throughout the reservation will be producing hand-spun yardage material.

In most of the day schools or community centers an employee acts as a craft assistant, but in one place, Wakpamni Lake, where there is no longer a school and no local paid employee to help or guide the craft work, the women of the community are interested enough to go ahead on their own. They used the old school building, a borrowed loom and spinning wheel, and have worked out their own plans. A young girl who was trained in the boarding school volunteered to be their teacher without pay, and a man in the community builds the fires on cold days. They were given a small amount of wool that was purchased with day school funds. This has been called educational wool and is used by beginners who are learning to spin. They also surveyed the community and found a White neighbor who gave them permission to collect wool from the fences where sheep are pastured. Since none of the Indians in this community own sheep, it will be necessary for them to secure wool elsewhere if they make articles for their own use. It can be purchased if they have the money. The local group has taken the initiative in every step.

There is great interest among the school children. Almost every child in the elementary grades will weave if given the chance—boys and girls alike. There have been so many changes in day school personnel that many times, especially within the current year, new teachers have come in who do not know how to use the looms. In several schools the children have taken over the job of teaching the new teachers and the new pupils. In one school, No. 4, a thirteen-year old girl acted as the weaving teacher for 14 or 15 children, among them a second-grade girl about eight years old who has woven a head scarf for herself. In another place a twelve-year-old boy has been in charge and kept strict watch to see that each student did not weave over his limit of two inches until every child had had his turn. Similar situations exist in a number of the day schools. In one school, No. 10, an older boy was trained to do production weaving for the shop. He is now in defense work and his little brother is being trained by the same teacher to take his place.

The weaving department at the Oglala Community High School is doing an exceptionally good job of training high school students. During one period of four weeks, each of 21 ninth grade girls dyed, carded, spun and wove either a head scarf or a long table runner for herself. The girls took the spinning wheels to the girls' dormitory after school hours and oftentimes worked from four until five in the afternoon. They were not asked to put in the extra hours, but did it because they were interested. Ninth grade boys also card and spin the wool that they themselves wash.

It is evident that the Indian people of Pine Ridge enjoy weaving and spinning. They realize more each year how they can make use of a craft that is not native, but which they have learned through the schools. Gradually they are making it their own. People of every age level have participated, from the youngest child in school, who has to stand to reach the loom, to the old women who speak only Sioux. Young people of high school age or a little beyond are probably the most critical of all age levels. Both boys and girls of this age take their work in weaving seriously and are proud of the articles they make.

The most popular program of the year is the style show which is sponsored by the weaving department of the high school. During the winter of 1942 a boy in the Army, stationed in Oregon, telephoned (half way across the United States) to have two neck scarfs sent to him from the weaving department. He wanted these at once, so he could back up his stories of the weaving department in his high school. These big boys are far beyond the point of feeling that weaving or spinning is a "sissy" job. Not long ago another Army boy who was a former weaving student wrote telling the students now in school how much they ought to appreciate the articles they weave. He regrets not taking just one little piece with him.

Any number of students can be seen every day on the campus of the high school wearing something they have made in the weaving department, proving that the schools have really done a good job in teaching a new craft. There have been upsets and changes and periods when the work has stopped entirely in different schools, due to the disinterest of the local White employee. However, in every school on the reservation, the Indian people have done a good job with their weaving, provided there has been sufficient equipment and a little encouragement from the teacher.

—*Goforth*

6. MAKE CRAFT SALES BUSINESSLIKE

THE concern of the present administration for the preservation of indigenous art expressions is naturally being reflected in the field. Many of the Indian crafts attract interest not solely because they are unique but because they are or can be beautiful and at the same time useful. In all of these cases the cash income produced from the sale of craft products may form a desirable and at times appreciable contribution to the total cash income of a tribe or of individuals. Few Indians have had experience in marketing their products through the rather intricate system of commercial distribution which the White man has built up. Many of the Indians' White well wishers are equally naive when it comes to finding a market for Indian products.

Here and there for brief periods of time these Whites have donated their own services, have borrowed sales rooms and sales windows, and carried on a distribution of Indian made articles in such a manner that the Indian himself was enabled to receive the entire proceeds of the sale. In a similar way, where the Indian has marketed his own products at a road-side stand, he has naturally been the sole recipient of the sales price. Such marketing conditions, however, can play at best a very trivial part in the developing of any wide-spread market for Indian goods. There is an actual and easily-reached limit to the produce which can be sold in this hand-to-mouth manner. Any large scale sale of Indian products must inevitably depend upon the usual channels of trade.

It must be made possible and profitable for a middle man and a retail dealer to handle Indian wares. To get these goods to market means that someone must secure them direct from the Indian; someone must transport them, store them, display them, and sell them. In our complicated society, goods of all kinds are moved vast distances and sold far from the scene of their production. Experience has shown that this process of distribution and retail selling, with all of the salaries, rents, and other costs of doing business, involves an expense at least equal to the cost of production and sometimes far in excess of this cost.

The friends of the Indian who teach the Indian that a basket which he produces is worth a dollar and then teach prospective White purchasers that the same basket should cost a dollar are unwittingly destroying every possibility that Indian basket making can be made to pay any large number of Indians for their trouble. Indian Service schools which sell Indian handicrafts made by pupils for little more than the cost of materials, are establishing false values and unwittingly destroying the market for the work of older Indians. Every article contains raw material which has cost something in time and labor to obtain. More time and labor must be spent to fashion this material into an object which is both usable and salable. The finished article must be handled by an individual who brings it to the market and who in turn must be rewarded for his time and labor. Lastly, it must be sold and the salesmen must earn not only returns on his time, but also an overhead which will pay the expenses of doing business.

The final sales price of every Indian product must reflect these several expenses, or we are establishing in the buyer's mind an inadequate sense of the product's actual worth, and squeezing out of the picture one of the essential marketing services. School stores and Indian cooperatives should not begin the marketing of Indian products with an idea of under-cutting the commercial trader or driving him out of business. The more traders in Indian goods there are, the greater market there is likely to be for Indian products. We should, therefore, price cooperative and school-sold products so that it will be profitable for the trader to buy the same things wholesale and sell them at retail, side by side with the school stores and at equivalent prices. Advantages which Indian cooperatives enjoy through non-payment of rent on government land and in government structures, should not be reflected in lower prices, but in other advantages which may accrue to members of the cooperatives or which may be diverted into activity funds and thence expended for the benefit of Indian craftsmen.

7. LET US SEEK THE QUALITY MARKET

THERE are two fundamentally different markets for Indian craft products. With both groups the fact that an object is associated with Indians is important. The larger market, in numbers of people now included, is the tourist group. These people roam the country and desire to bring home, for their own "collections" or for gifts to friends, reminders of unique and interesting places where they have been. Most of these people are "average Americans," without much taste or background knowledge of the places they visit. The limited amount of money which they feel able or willing to spend on "souvenirs" must be spread over many different places which they will visit. Experience of roadside stands which cater to this trade, is that most tourists are looking for something which will cost 25c or 50c. Sometimes an item that catches their eyes can be priced at $1. Few will buy anything more expensive.

Few items which these tourists have bought, while travelling across country, have been particularly representative of the part of the country where it was bought. Metal trays stamped "Niagara Falls" may have been manufactured in New York City, pennants inscribed "Carlsbad Caverns" may have been painted in Kansas City. Pottery on the wayside stands of New England may have been fired in North Carolina.

Through lack of knowledge the tourist is without discrimination and is reminded of the place where an object was bought more by a label either in words, picture, or "style" of object, than by association with the maker, the resources of the region, or some other significance. For this reason, many visitors to Alaska will buy a miniature totem pole as a souvenir—but accept an ivory one stamped as "made in Japan" as willingly as a wooden one carved by a southeast Alaska Indian of the tribes that originated the totem pole.

This lack of information makes the tourist, in the case of "Indian" goods, receptive to synthetic "symbolism" or to garish color combinations which fit in with such vague preconceptions of Indians as he may have. Such a buyer will pass by the restrained good taste of authentic Pueblo pottery for the poster-colored gaucheries which are now appearing in southwest trading posts and Indian markets.

The tourist comes to the Indian—and his money, while in small denominations is "cash on the barrel head." It is something which trader and Indian alike can see, and for years the financial limitation and the lack of taste and knowledge of the tourist has been permitted to debauch the work of the Indian craftsman—and has encouraged the production of factory made imitations which still further cheapen the market.

Another market of greater potentialities also exists. It is composed of persons of taste—or discrimination—who value products for their beauty, their style, or their origins and workmanship. With this second market, price is of secondary importance. While its members may spread through a much wider range of income groups, they are individuals who buy for authenticity and quality and are prepared to pay reasonably for what they want. They may not travel so continuously as the tourist and don't buy so many things. They are usually sufficiently discriminating to recognize the "junk" on the traders' counters, and as a result, to be somewhat skeptical of the better things even though those are what they seek.

Many times, members of this buying group cannot come to the Indian country, but would seek and buy the authentic Indian goods if they knew where to find them. Furthermore it is the group whose buying will give prestige to Indian made goods.

Contrast the markets in another sense—no one would try to launch a new fashion in women's wear through the stores that handle cheap ready-made stock. If it were attempted, those who first wore the new models in public would be persons of low prestige in our society and the new model would immediately become associated in the popular mind with low economic status. As a result, no one would accept it willingly. If on the other hand, it is launched through an exclusive establishment and appears first among those who are prominent and well-to-do, the tendency is for everyone to copy it. This is not a unique phenomenon. There is no society in the world where acceptance or rejection of a new thing is not strongly influenced by the auspices under which it is introduced and the associations thus attached to it.

If Navaho jewelry can be marketed through the more exclusive shops and sold to the more discriminating buyers, there will ultimately develop an imitating market for cheaper products and even for machine-made imitations in the dime stores. But Navaho jewelry will never crash the national market over the counters of the five-and-ten-cent stores.

The same thing is true of Cherokee or Washoe basketry, Pueblo pottery, or Sioux leather work, or of introduced home-crafts such as Sequoyah weaving, or Sioux petit point or Coeur d'Alene gloves. The trader who deliberately encourages the lowering of quality or the production of "sub-standard" gee-gaws is ultimately destroying his own business, because cheap goods can always be undercut with cheaper goods, till the craftsman is driven out of the market.

Experimentally, over the last few years the Indian Arts and Crafts board and the Education Division have sought a market for high quality Indian crafts. In this time it has been clearly demonstrated that the quality market exists. On the other hand, the deterioration in quality which is being commercially urged by the average trader is sadly depleting the production of quality products.

Strange as it may seem to many—it is easier to open a market for several thousand items of good quality than for several hundred—and after a market is opened it is essential to have production so organized as to fill the continued demand.

While progress in increasing the market for Indian goods may appear slow—it is clear that Indian Service efforts must be to encourage production for a quality market—selling fewer pieces of fine quality at a higher price, leaving to the imitators or the less skilled craftsman the cheaper market of the tourist trade.

8. THE QUALITY MARKET EXISTS

THERE are two conflicting philosophies of salesmanship at work with native crafts. The first and oldest is that of the Indian trader. His policy was to get as much from the native as he could and give as little in return as he could get away with. Many of the old traders will resent this blunt statement of the case and demand qualifications, or urge in their own behalf that they are not in business for their health, but to make money. The funny thing is, that these business man have been making less and less money and driving their natives lower and lower, economically, and don't realize that they have been killing their own "goose that lays the golden eggs."

Let us follow, for a moment, the sequence of the usual trader's practice. Actual instances could be cited from Nome, Alaska, to Tucson, Arizona, but let us generalize. Trader A, being a good business man, tries to get his crafts products from the natives for less and less money. He may accomplish this by actually paying less, or indirectly by increasing the price of his trade goods to the natives. As the price he receives goes down, the native is forced to cheapen his product. He must have money to live, and if it takes more ivory or silver or blankets or baskets, he has less time to devote to making each item a masterpiece of craftsmanship. The cheapened article has less value on the trader's shelves and will bring a lower price when it reaches the ultimate consumer. This cuts the expected margin of profit, so the trader resorts to a still smaller payment to the native. This time he may recognize the fact that this action will result in a cheaper product and will actively advise the craftsman as to how a poorer article can be produced which may still resemble the genuine. About this time the discriminating buyers discover that shoddy goods are being substituted for quality craftsmanship whenever it can be done, and become hesitant about purchasing in such an uncertain market.

Once this spiral of deterioration has set in, it is hard to halt it. The trader finds himself operating on a narrower margin and is thus unable to finance the handling of better quality goods which may remain a little longer on his shelves, until the discriminating buyers discover that good articles may still be had. So he actively advises his craftsworkers to stop making quality goods, on the ground that there is no market for them. By that time, machine made imitations of these shoddy goods are good enough to pass for the genuine, and cheap enough to force still further cutting of production costs, until eventually the native craftsman is driven out of the business, and all one finds on the market is the machine-made imitation of a once beautiful handicraft.

The newer approach is that of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and recognizes that the only feature which justifies the continuation of a handicraft is the high quality which can come only as the result of careful, loving handwork. This quality requires time and attention of a skilled craftsman, who must be able to make a good living at his craft, or if he works on a part-time basis, who must feel that his reward for the time invested compares favorably with other work he might be doing. It insists that there is a quality market appreciative of the best crafsmanship and willing to pay adequately for it. The craftsman must therefore be paid for his product at a rate which will make him a good living, and only his best work should be accepted. This work should then be sold at a fair wholesale price which makes possible a reasonable profit to the retailer of *quality goods*. It is held that the quality goods market has not even been scratched and is much more important to the craftsman than the old curio market to which the trader had been gradually degrading him.

The interesting part of the argument is that there are cold facts to support every statement made above. Wherever the work of the Education Division or the Arts and Crafts Board has resulted in the production of quality goods, a market has opened which far exceeds present production, or any rate of production likely to be achieved in the immediate future. This is true of Eskimo ivory, of Cherokee weaving, of Navaho silver, of Papago basketry, and numerous other crafts. Where traders have recognized the potentialities of the new market and have cooperated to regain or uphold quality standards, Indian Service agencies have been only too happy to work through established commercial channels. Where traders have persisted in discouraging quality production, or beating down the native labor costs below a figure which will permit quality work, native craftsmen are being encouraged and helped to form cooperative marketing agencies which will find an outlet for quality goods, and insure the worker a return on his labor which will permit him to produce quality goods.

Good quality handcrafts need not be high-priced handcrafts. It is possible to make a small but perfect Paiute basket, an inexpensive pottery ash tray, or items to fit the purse of the average man which are nevertheless done with skill and artistry. There is a quality market with the widest possible range in price..

9. NATIVE BUSINESS CAN SUCCEED

SOUTHWEST of Nome an overnight boat trip, stretches 100-mile long St. Lawrence Island, home of 511 industrious Eskimo living in two villages—Gambell to the extreme west, Savoonga about the middle of the north coast. Fishing, herding reindeer, hunting walrus and whale, trapping white foxes and carving ivory makes the group economically self-sufficient. Aside from the school teachers, a government nurse and some very constructive missionaries, there are no Whites on the island. All business with the outside world is transacted through two native cooperative stores —one in each village—which deal in furs, craft products, and White consumer goods.

St. Lawrence Islanders about 45 years ago were almost wiped out as a result of a White whaler's visit, which paid off in liquor. The natives went on a prolonged binge till the liquor was gone, and the walrus upon whose seasonal visit the population is dependent for its winter food supply, came and went unmolested. That winter more than half the population starved to death—five flourishing villages being reduced to one by the time the ice broke and the first spring coast guard cutter paid its official visit. Savoonga is an offshoot of Gambell, which survived, resulting from a gradual natural increase in population.

Whether today's careful balance between the new and the old bears testimony to a lesson bitterly learned might be debated, but the St. Lawrence Islanders are carefully selecting from the White man's magic sales catalog just those things which make sense in their environment and rejecting all else, and discarding those patterns of native culture which no longer make sense and preserving the rest. It is a most gratifying instance of native adaptation with a minimum of White interference,—something one might wish to see permitted to develop in many other native areas.

Today's St. Lawrence Islanders live inside wooden walls—most of them purchased as pre-cut houses from the States. Inside is preserved, in many cases, an adaptation of the native home: whale oil stoves, burning a fuel "which doesn't cost money," and lit by electricity from a community diesel plant. Whale, walrus, and seal oil is secured as a result of age-old hunting activities and serves the purpose admirably. Electricity supplies needed light for the meticulously accurate ivory carving which occupies the long dark winters, and conserves eyesight. The Gambell native sees no incongruity, only a wise blending of today's resources.

Expensive whale boats of the best manufacture lie beside native walrus hide oomiaks, both powered with outboard motors, —and today's skin boats carry their motors in a "well" inside the boat, which is an idea from the outside world gleaned from readings in "Popular Mechanics" magazine.

The native stores place their orders with Seattle wholesalers by radio, today using the government sets at the two schools,—but the store managers have reached the conclusion that community transmitting and receving sets would make them independent of the teachers who may be away from the island for "leave" periods during which the natives are cut off from the equipment.

Liquor is not handled by the native stores, not because of any law, but as a result of a community decision that it is a non-productive luxury. Sales of tobacco are falling off for the same reason, and candy is reserved for "Christmas presents." No, the St. Lawrence Islanders are not ascetics—they will smoke any "given" number of cigarettes. They will trade ivory "seconds" which are not good enough to pass inspection by the keen eyes of their store managers, for tobacco and chocolate, but in the serious business of life, luxuries take second place—from choice, not from ignorance of the possibilities.

St. Lawrence Islanders are satisfied that their community cooperative stores are preferable to even the best of White traders. "The trader naturally is concerned with making money. He will encourage the sale of luxury products on which the profit is large, for he seeks the most efficient way to transfer the money from the native's pocket to his own. The native store represents the community, and its duty is to serve the needs of the community and conserve community assets." And the St. Lawrence stores have done so—to the extent of $45,000 balance in the bank most of which has been invested in war bonds.

14.

PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION

1. WHY IS A PRINCIPAL?

SINCE 1936 the Education Division has made a consistent effort to decentralize the supervisory responsibilities of the Office and transfer this supervision to area superintendents and reservation principals. This has been an expression of belief that the man on the job locally is in a position to make more frequent visits and, because of his greater familiarity with local conditions, make more constructive suggestions to teachers and employees under his jurisdiction than could be expected from someone who had less opportunity for his closer familiarity with conditions and personalities. This is not to indicate that value does not attach to the general supervisor who can view a local situation in the light of a variety of similar situations seen at points throughout the Indian Service. Such a supervisor should be able to point out methods which in other areas led successfully in the direction of desirable accomplishment and which should furnish guidance in a local situation. The visits of such a specialist must of necessity be infrequent and thus less effective than those of an individual who can drop in for long or short visits numerous times during a year. To be effective, any supervisor must of necessity have time for supervision.

There is growing evidence that the local principals are allowing themselves to be bogged down with office work, important but not as important as the personal inspiration, assistance, or advice which if given at the right time could contribute to definite improvement in instruction upon the part of the teachers of an area. Yet years have passed in which new appointees have seen the local supervisory official only once or twice during the entire period of probation and then only briefly and for routine reasons not directly connected with teaching. As a result, the final decision with regard to the probationary period is likely to rest on a superficial impression or an impression gained from "gossip" of other employees, parents, or children. Even though such supervision by "gossip" may in many instances afford an accurate picture of conditions and individual efficiency, the individual concerned quite justifiably can argue that he is unaware that the supervision has occurred and has not been given the benefit of constructive suggestions which might have enabled him to overcome his weakness.

After all, the major problem of constructive supervision is to improve performance. As a by-product, it may occasionally be necessary to recommend dismissal of an individual who fails to respond to constructive suggestion and guidance. Dismissals of this kind are always expensive because it requires tedious effort to provide a newcomer, regardless of how efficient he may be, with the experience already gained by the person who is dismissed. A moderately weak teacher who has capacity for improvement is frequently a better investment than a stronger teacher who comes newly into the situation. There are, of course, various ways of conducting supervision and just how a supervisor meets his problem is probably determined by his own psychological reactions.

In general, the most constructive approach is to discover and stress those elements in the teacher's work which are *good* and which illustrate the type of procedure or achievement which is desired. In other words, it is better to say:

"That particular job was good, your approach to the problem and your handling of the children illustrated the kind of thing we like to see. Let us have more of that kind of work. Your study of the community, your understanding of Mrs. Big Bear's problems, and the help which you have given to her child is the kind of thing which we would like to see extended to all 30 of the families represented by the children in your class."

than to say:

"You betray a complete lack of understanding of what is expected of you in handling 20 out of 30 children. You were most indiscreet in dealing with five parents whom I saw you talking with this morning. Your associates have difficulty in getting on with you."

While some of these latter things undoubtedly must be said if improvement does not take place, they should be reserved for later conferences and the more constructive approach should be adopted initially. It is upon a person's strengths that one builds, hoping to expand them, rather than upon weaknesses which may be ineradicable. Frequently these weaknesses decrease in importance, as the individual grows in stature and in experience through the development of his strong points.

By this it is not intended to indicate that a person whose services are proving continually unsatisfactory should be left in ignorance of this dissatisfaction and faced with the termination of his services without preliminary warning. In fact, where cooperation toward improvement is lacking upon the part of a teacher or other employee, it is desirable and necessary to make this fact a matter of both oral and written record. An employee should be told frankly and explicitly wherein his services are *unsatisfactory* and the supervisory officer should follow this oral statement with a written summary of the interview which should also be placed in the permanent files, so that a continuing record of the difficulties becomes available if a transfer or separation of the individual must be undertaken at a later date.

2. "YOU CAN FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE—"

"JIGGERS, here come the cops," with slight modifications for different geographical areas, is a common warning of childhood. In schools it sometimes used to be, "Hickey, the teacher." In both cases it was a warning that someone in authority was approaching, who would probably disapprove of whatever was being done by the group which was being warned. The warning was usually followed by a rapid change in outward appearances. Little boys deeply engaged in mischief attempted to put on an appearance of innocence. Mouths which had been uttering obscenities prepared for a sugar-coated greeting, and for a brief period every nerve was on edge to pretend to an outward appearance which conflicted with the facts. There is probably no reason to limit such changes in behavior to boys. There were plenty of girls who took part in similar transformation scenes. One of the interesting things about life, is that some of both sexes have never outgrown this attitude.

Today there are schools in the Indian Service where the anticipated arrival of some traveling supervisor or representative of the Washington Office prompts something akin to the old time "hickey." This reaction appears to spring from one of two attitudes; either fear of the criticisms which will be made and a desire to give a better impression than is borne out by the facts, or a determination to persist in a course of action which it is assumed will not meet with the supervisor's approval. It is therefore desired to leave an impression with the supervisor that the things which are being done are in accordance with what is believed to be Office preference, when as a matter of fact they are not.

Such a front seldom actually deceives many people. It may fool a few or it may fool everyone for a brief period of time, but it can't fool everybody continuously. Furthermore, such a bluff may really be harmful to the person who does the bluffing. Lots of potentially good teachers have gotten into serious difficulties because they pretended that all was well at a time when all was not well. It is possible, of course, to get away with that kind of a bluff for a short period of time. However, it doesn't cure the difficulty. If a teacher's discipline is weak, or if a teacher is failing to get results in her attempts to teach reading, or if some other phase of the program is slipping, the momentary pretense that it is not, is merely a bit of self deception. A drowning man who assured a passing boatman that he was all right and needed no help, would be displaying the same kind of stupidity.

After all the only reason for having a supervisory staff is to furnish the advice and assistance which will help people to succeed in doing better the things that they must do. Of course there are occasionally supervisors who are merely adversely critical and who appear to take pleasure in pointing out other people's faults. That reaction however is often brought about by the actions of the teacher herself.

Being supervisor isn't the easiest thing in the world. It is a position which calls for sympathetic understanding, constructive imagination, and clear exposition. In other words the supervisor must see what is happening in its various aspects, must actually be able to undertand and appreciate what the teacher is experiencing, and what the children are experiencing. That understanding must reveal why there is conflict and lead to suggestions as to constructive alternatives, that is, ways in which the teacher might react which will enable her to avoid the difficulties which she is experiencing. Having sensed the trouble and imagined a constructive correction, the next step, and frequently the most difficult of all, is to express all of this to the teacher in such a way that it is accepted constructively and used as a basis for a reconstruction of personal behavior.

Teachers often place themselves on the defensive, try to justify their erroneous behavior or excuse it, even when they recognize the truth of the analysis which has been made. In their defensive reactions such teachers often argue against the suggestions made for their own help, rather than endeavoring to understand those suggestions clearly enough to apply them in the future. Faced with such defensive reactions the supervisor often feels forced to an attitude of aggressive and unpleasant criticism, in order to bring the teacher to a recognition of her own weaknesses. Even though it may be understandable, such a reaction is seldom helpful.

Putting up a front when such help is near, and refusing to accept such help, is shortsighted at the very best. Putting up a front and pretending to be something that one is not, is equally pointless.

The Office is at present attempting to place responsibility for the direction of local educational programs so far as possible on local people. The general principles which are being advocated as a basis for curriculum construction and program planning are based upon careful and realistic study of the opportunities open to Indian school graduates. How these opportunities may be best taken advantage of in any one area, rests pretty much with the teachers of the schools in that area. No constructive help can be given when the real objectives of the faculty are obscured, and the program which is set forth does not correspond with the facts. Such pretenses are recognized for what they are by the teachers and by the children who are involved. It would appear self-evident that no principal or teacher can long hold the respect of the children in his school, when the children recognize that the anticipated arrival of a supervisory officer is the occasion for bluff and pretense, contrary to fact.

One is reminded of the story of the teacher who wished to make a favorable impression on her principal, and in order to do so demanded that every child hold up his hand in answer to her questions, during the time when the principal was in the room. "Hold up your right hand," said she, "if you know the answer. Hold up the left hand if you don't." Such an experience might almost be referred to as negative character education. It is not assumed that anything quite as blatant takes place in Indian Service schools, but it is recognized that there are many teachers and many pupils who are invited to organize an appearance which is in conflict with the day to day facts, and it is gravely doubted that such experience is good for the teachers or the children, or particularly helpful in the general process of education.

3. WHY BE A ROLLING STONE?

"THE Indian Service is almost notorious with respect to the frequent transfers of its personnel in the field, personnel being moved very often in the most opportunist fashion to cope with each situation as it arises. . . As a result, there is little encouragement for employees in the service to assume responsibility, to the extent that would be desirable, for community, social, and economic programs. Stabilization of employment and the development of a feeling on the part of the field personnel that they are responsible for understanding the needs of the communities to which they are assigned with a view to long periods of service, would undoubtedly improve their service materially."

Thus the President's Advisory Committee on Education describes the transfer evil in the Indian Service. Unfortunately, it must be confessed that the criticism is a just one. Despite efforts on the part of the Office staff to decrease the continuing interchange of personnel, the flow of requests from individual staff members who want to change and from supervisory officials who believe that periodic changes represent a healthy infusion of new blood, goes merrily on.

The condition, however, is undeniably most unhealthy. It accounts for the fact, that despite the continuance of the Indian Service since 1824, few if any of our field representatives speak or understand the native languages of any of the major Indian tribes. Because learning a language requires time, and intimate contact with people, the labor involved is not considered worthwhile because the individual realizes that he may be transferred to the other end of the Indian country about the time he is able to make himself understood. Knowing Apache would be of no value to a man whose next five years were to be spent among the Sioux. In an unduly large number of stations the teacher in charge has been moved on an average of once a year, and the high point was reached recently when a teacher by intraunit transfer was moved three times in ten months and found her fourth assignment to be identical with her first.

The assumption by any one that serious responsibilities can be intelligently administered by a shifting personnel is fallacious. In the development of long range policies (and by the very nature of the Indian Service, policies must be thought of in terms of years, not months), such instability of personnel operates to defeat every important purpose.

A belief has grown up within the Indian Service that assignments to isolated stations where there are few White people and where one must travel many miles to the nearest town or city are an imposition upon the staff. Such an attitude assumes that Indians are not "people" and that a White person living in an Indian community is shut off from normal social relationships. The attitude which produces that point of view results in an individual shutting himself off from friendships or companionship within the Indian community. As a result he fails to understand the basic thinking of the Indian, and frequently neither understands nor sympathizes with the fundamental problems with which the Indian is confronted.

The success of any teacher or principal depends more upon the reaction of his personality upon the children and the people of the community with whom he associates, than upon the amount of educational preparation which he has had. Many of the wiser public and private schools throughout the country have for many years been arranging their teaching schedule so as to permit their better teachers to remain with the same group of children for at least two years, to minimize the educational losses which occur during the period when children have to get accustomed to the personal peculiarities of a new teacher. A teacher who has been with children that long gets to know them intimately enough to permit individual variation in achievement which is justified by natural differences between individuals. New teachers find that it takes appreciable periods of time before these individual variations become apparent.

By the same general principle, many White people say that all Chinese look alike; which is a compliment returned by the Chinese. The gross similarities between people with whom we are not familiar are much more impressive when first we meet them than the individual differences; yet it is the individual differences that are vital to any process of education or any intimate social relationships. People don't confide their intimate beliefs or more serious thoughts to superficial acquaintances, yet many of our teachers and other Indian Service personnel have little time to become anything more than speaking acquaintances with the people whose future they can and do influence greatly.

A young teacher on a northern reservation recently surprised his superiors by announcing that he looked forward with pleasure to remaining at his isolated station for at least 10 years. Pressed for an explanation of this astounding attitude he replied, "If I am to be of any service to these people, how can my plans contemplate a shorter period of time?" He had recognized the need of his community for a stock breeding program, for a revival of interest in subsistence gardening, for developing pride in improved home construction, for real concern about better health practices. He also recognized that the community was divided into a variety of factions, quarreling among themselves, and thereby interfering with the accomplishment of objectives which would be to the advantage of every member of the group. To compose these quarrels, to arouse interest in new possibilities, to bring about cooperation in the place of conflict, to instill new hope, new faith, new confidence, represented a need for years of endeavor upon the part of some trusted and trustworthy neutral who was willing to make the community problems his problems.

It is to be hoped that many other members of the Indian Service as they become more intimately aware of the needs for leadership throughout the service will be found willing to identify themselves with specific problems for a sufficiently lengthy period to make constructive contribution toward their solution.

4. RELATIVE IMPORTANCE

THE appropriation base for practically all Indian schools is the same—yet what it buys in different schools varies amazingly. At one institution, the roads and sidewalks are in a state of chronic disrepair—dangerous even—and at another school, each year may see many yards of fresh concrete work laid. Here buildings rot for lack of exterior paint—there the superintendent has worked out a maintenance program by which the total painting is spread over several years, and no building goes in want of paint more than two or three years. Again, the interiors of one school are smudge-dirty and glaring with unpainted plaster patches, while those of another are always fresh, clean, and colorful because all interiors are painted at three year intervals, and maintenance funds to do a third of the campus each year are regularly encumbered for that purpose.

There are schools in which the educational needs of the pupils are carefully studied and a well-balanced professional personnel employed to teach the needed academic and vocational work in classes of reasonable size without neglecting such cultural needs as music, art, and physical education. There are other schools with a preponderance of academic teachers or an undue proportion of vocational teachers or more likely a complete absence of personnel for the cultural fields. Or again, a limited professional staff may be pieced out with less skilled "assistants" who are expected to carry responsibilities intended only for the professional personnel.

There are schools in which a few skilled mechanics take responsibility for plant maintenance and production and do a thoroughly good job, and half a state away, the staff is littered with unskilled "assistants,"—high school graduates and other types of cheap labor—and nothing seems to get done because no qualified person is employed to direct and train the many employees.

Here children in squads are detailed from a quarter to half-day regularly for institutional labor and loaf through jobs which could be done in half the time by half the number—most of them hating their work and doing it poorly—and nearby is a school where all institutional details are completed by 9:00 or 9:30 in the morning. The pupils of both schools get up at the same time in the morning, but in the second school, every institutional job has been carefully analyzed, and its doing has been planned with the physical abilities of the student to whom it has been assigned in mind. Everyone works at the same time — everyone has to keep busy to complete his work on time—and good morale results, with everyone appearing to enjoy his work.

And so its goes. These differences are not related to the size of the school, or the age span or sex of the students. Despite the frequently heard complaint that elementary boarding schools are impossible to operate efficiently because of the absence of older and larger students, there are elementary boarding schools, operating well within their appropriations, which possess all the desirable characteristics referred to—and there are senior high schools with twice the number of older students, which present all the undersirable features listed.

Good administration is a matter of planning and of weighing the relative importance of numerous desirable expenditures. No one can have everything he wants, simply by wanting it—but no good manager need go without most of the desirable things, if he budgets for them carefully over a period of years.

In any institution, deterioration is more or less constant. Little things neglected become bigger—and if neglected long enough demand major expenditures. However, if the entire institution is carefully surveyed, and the floors, interior wall areas, exterior wood and metal work, stair treads, windows, hardware and other items listed, divided into two, three or four units, and one of these scheduled for thorough reconditioning at periodic intervals, many of these difficulties will disappear and costs of maintenance will go down. If in addition, some qualified person thoroughly and frequently inspects latches, hinges, door closers, screens, drainpipes, roof, gutters, toilet fixtures, faucets, and the hundred and one *little* things that get loose (and when not attended to break off and get lost), and takes the time to put in an extra screw, make an adjustment or replacement, stop a leak or otherwise make an immediate simple repair, many of the more costly breaks won't occur at all. A day or two a month that a competent handy man may spend thus will save that same man several months of work later.

It is also a well established fact that one gets just about what he pays for in any type of professional work, which amounts to saying that the school principal who cheapens his teaching staff by employing unqualified and ill-trained "assistants" or his maintenance staff by employing more than a moderate amount of irregular labor, lowers the productive quality of his staff to just that extent. Quantity does not make up for quality.

Students who accept the need to assist in institutional maintenance, who help in planning how it shall be most efficiently done, and who unite in doing it with a will, can accomplish more in less time than "labor battalions" of reluctant youngsters over a much longer period of time.

Many of the schools whose performance has been criticized are run largely by guess and by impulse, rather than by fact finding and careful planning. An employee's cottage is passed over this year because the inhabitant has proved annoying—even though the woodwork cries for paint. But another room is repainted, even though the last paint job is only a year old, as a reward to a teacher who has charm, persistence or is otherwise agreeable. While such administration by impulse is hard on the institutional structures, it operates even more disastrously on the morale of the personnel and pupils.

Good administration is never the result of happy accident. It is produced by foresight, information, cold-clear-headed planning, and hard work. The good administrator shares his responsibilities with others of his staff, and allows them to exercise their initiative in planning their work. Although at times he might be able to act more wisely than they, he hesitates to countermand their plans or discourage their enthusiasm.

The good administrator is careful of each dollar of his available funds, and does not spend impulsively at one point and economize unduly at another.

Above all the good administrator of a *school* never loses sight of the fact that the reason for his own being, and that of his subordinates, the justification for the land, the buildings, and the equipment within and around the plant, is to serve intelligently the educational needs of the *children* committed to his care. When they are ill-served, he has been a traitor to his trust, regardless of what else he may have accomplished.

It is for that sole purpose that all of the planning needs be done—and without the most careful planning that purpose will *not* be served.

5. NO VIRTUE TO DRUDGERY

MOST Indian boarding schools were established at a time when the distance from the nearest town might be measured in terms of several days travel. Even when on the outskirts of a town, it was usually a small frontier village with few of the commercialized personal services which are familiar aspects of city life. Thus it was necessary for these schools to be self-sufficient. Each had a laundry, which processed all the clothing and linen for the school—and often for the hospital as well. Each had a dairy for the production of fresh milk, and a farm at least large enough to produce most of the fodder for the cows. Each had a bakery for the production of bread and pastries. Each operated shops for the maintenance of the plant and its equipment.

In the earliest days equipment was of the simplest types,—and the necessary labor was furnished by the pupils as part of their "vocational" education. As time passed, mechanical equipment has found its way into many phases of plant operation, but the labor is still furnished by the pupils, ofttimes involving prolonged periods of drudgery with limited educational value.

In the meantime, modern methods of transportation, and modern mechanization of personal services in adjacent towns, have altered the basic conditions under which it is necessary to operate. Milk can often be purchased in bulk and shipped into the school at less than local costs of production. The same may be true of bread and pastry, laundry and automotive repair. Skilled or unskilled labor often may be obtained in the area to perform many of the maintenance functions far more efficiently than can be done by the children. And in many instances a better program of vocational training can be provided if the shop instructors and their students are not held responsible for wholesale maintenance and repairs.

It is good training for boys and girls to know how to wash and repair their own clothing and to have experience in doing it —but there is no virtue in a group of little girls doing the institutional laundry for a school of six hundred, if that laundry can be done commercially at a reasonable figure. It is part of the educational need of every child to learn to cook and bake "family size," and in some of our schools baking may be a valuable course for a limited number of students—but in many of the smaller schools and some of the larger ones it is questionable whether any educational loss would occur (and money might be saved) if bakery products were bought under contract.

In many Indian areas, dairying is not a "vocation" open to Indians, so the school dairy is solely a production unit. Sometimes it requires all the available agricultural land to feed the dairy herd, although small scale irrigated farming of the subsistence type is basic to the Indian economy and should be in the vocational curriculum. Under such circumstances it would be advantageous to buy fresh milk if it could be obtained—and in some instances it would be better to abolish the dairy and depend on condensed or dried milk,—so as to make the land available for instructional purposes.

While many phases of plant maintenance may with advantage be carried on by students as a part of their vocational training, the maintenance work of the small day school would be more nearly typical of the experience training needed by most pupils, than the large scale repairs of most boarding schools. Painting a house or a barn, a fence or a farm structure may be a valuable feature of training for rural living —but painting the exterior or interior of a dormitory, school building or gymnasium may be a gross exploitation of child labor. In such a case, what might be legitimate summer employment for pay, may be without instructional value if included in the school program. An exception to this indictment should be made for schools where a vocational course in painting can be justified by the employment opportunities of the area. In such cases students need a large amount of varied experience such as may be furnished by the school plant.

Nothing said herein is intended to modify what has heretofore been urged with regard to the desirability of realistic and purposeful experiences as part of any effective educational program. But it is important to distinguish between a learning experience and inexcusable exploitation. The boys and girls who are preparing for rural living need a variety of realistic experiences — mixing paint and painting small structures, mixing and pouring concrete, repairing doors and windows, screens, hinges and locks, building small wooden structures, making simple plumbing and electrical repairs, making adobe bricks and building small structures with them, and a dozen similar things. We have no right, however, to detail them to drudgery on a large scale in order to carry forward an institutional program that has ceased to have educational value.

By the same token, it is well for children to become habituated to making their own beds, sweeping their own floors and otherwise contributing to the necessary housekeeping function of family living—but there is no virtue to spending a quarter of the day washing and drying dishes, when mechanical dishwashers equipped with steam or using adequate disinfectants will wash effectively, and at temperatures where a drying rack is preferable to a towel. In such a case a small group of students or an employee can serve the purpose with advantage.

Actually our children are in school to be educated. Their education in school should include vocational training which will contribute directly to their individual economic self-sufficiency after graduation. Pupils should participate willingly in many phases of the labor of plant operation and maintenance where this contribution is effective training and economically advantageous—but we have no right to prescribe child labor for the performance of institutional drudgery which can be more cheaply and effectively accomplished by paid labor—or which makes no comparable contribution to the child's training.

That such "child labor" is necessary to the successful operation of present day Indian boarding schools is disproved by the fact that many of our schools operate within their appropriation and hire such drudgery done by adults. Our three girls' boarding schools in Oklahoma achieve adequate plant maintenance without laying undue burden on the little girls. Elementary boarding schools are being effectively operated without exploiting the older children or consigning drudgery to the younger ones. The recommendations contained herein have been proved practicable by schools in the service which are already operating on these principles. They should be considered as basic guides by those planning the maintenance and operating programs of all schools.

6. ENCOURAGE REGULAR ATTENDANCE

SOME confusion seems to exist with regard to the application of compulsory attendance to the schools of the Indian Service. Historically the requirement by American communities that children attend school was more an endeavor to coerce parents than children. After the days of Horace Mann when it became thoroughly embedded in the minds of most Americans that free public education was a necessary requisite for successful functioning of a democracy, it was found that a small minority of families still persisted in preferring the economic advantages of their children's labor to the possible gains to be had from their education. The moment it was recognized that education was a concern of society rather than a personal matter, the parent who refused to permit his child to attend school was as much an offender against society as against the child. So laws were passed which in a majority of cases gave to local school boards the power to appoint truancy officers who could arrest parents who failed to send their children to school. In many states substantial penalties for such non-cooperation were provided. There were doubtless many arguments about the desirability of compulsory education at the time when it was a new idea. Today it is accepted almost as a matter of course throughout the United States.

Whether the forced removal of Indian children from their homes to far off schools in the early days was a good thing, is certainly debatable. There seems to be considerable evidence that a large number of Indian leaders welcomed the education of their young people, without the intervention of force. That force led to abuses is evidenced by the fact that federal legislation was ultimately passed which prohibited representatives of the Indian Service or of missionary groups from entering upon reservations and removing children without the consent of their parents. This argues that such forced education had probably been keenly resented. Some 10 years ago the Education Division of the Indian Service reversed this policy of using force. This was not from any feeling that education for Indian children was of any less importance than it had been, but from the belief that it was high time the Indian people themselves accepted responsibility for the education of their young people. Treaty after treaty with Indians pledged the Federal Government to provide opportunities for education when the Indian people presented the children to be educated.

There are too many instances in which the federal government takes from Indians the responsibility for their actions. In the desire to get things done, the Indian Service has a tendency to act for the Indian rather than encouraging him to act for himself.

Today each Indian community possesses the same type of representative body vested with authority to speak for the tribe that exists in the average White community. It is therefore believed that so far as attendance at schools operated by the Indian Service is concerned, the tribal council should assume responsibility for exercising such coercion as may be necessary in order to effect regularity. This transfer of responsibility to the tribal council should not be interpreted as indicating any lack of concern for regularity of attendance upon the part of the Education Division, or of its reservation representatives—it is simply an expression of belief that attendance in any community will not rise very far above that which the community itself willingly supports.

The importance of regularity in attendance should be apparent to every employee of the Education Division, for appropriations for federal schools are based upon average daily attendance figures. Irregularity of attendance is therefore penalized by loss of funds. This loss of funds is immediately reflected in the efficacy with which an educational program can be conducted. It is therefore believed important that employees of the Education Division make clear to Indian groups the fact that the continuation of good education depends directly upon full use of the facilities provided by the government.

There are reservations and school areas within the service where this responsibility has been taken over by the local Indians with the result that average daily attendance has consistently approximated the maximum. On the Hopi reservation the initiative was taken by members of the tribal council, and with their continuing support representatives of the Education Division made contact with individual families and urged regular attendance by the children. Attendance has been maintained consistently since this action was taken and appears to be evidence of the effectiveness with which the representatives of the tribal group actually represented the sentiments of the Indians themselves. At Cheyenne River, at Rosebud and several other reservations, the tribal councils have passed and are enforcing compulsory attendance ordinances. Cooperation has been received from community school boards on the Rosebud reservation in improving regularity of attendance for some of the day schools. These instances could be multiplied and it is believed that they mark the direction which should be followed in attempting to bring about a higher percentage of attendance and a better average daily attendance.

Where the members of the community itself believe the child should be in school and are willing to express that belief to their neighbors and associates, it usually results in children who have been allowed to run loose being sent to school. Where the importance of regularity to successful advancement in school is made clear to representatives of the community, an improvement in average daily attendance usually takes place.

Actually it is the old story of coercion versus voluntary cooperation and voluntary cooperation always depends upon understanding of the objective and the need. Let us press for better attendance records but let us do so, first by making the schools so good that children will want to attend and their parents then will be anxious for them to do so. Second, by demonstrating to leading representatives of the community the advantages which will accrue through the education of all young people. Third, by enlisting their support in persuading uninformed or reluctant members of the community to put their children in school and keep them there regularly.

7. WHY HAVE A SCHOOL PAPER?

EACH month a large number of Indian school papers cross the desks of the Central Office. These papers are doubtless representative of those issued throughout the schools of the Indian Service, if not an exhaustive catalogue.

They vary greatly, of course; from the carefully printed products of some boarding school printshops, to the papers run off on antiquated duplicators of one type or another. The sponsorship ranges from those which claim as editors the Principal or Superintendent of the school or agency, down to those which credit student editors with the entire responsibilty for the publication. The contents, in turn, range from reprints of articles appearing in adult journals bearing on Indian problems, to stories and news reports which originate with grade school children, and which retain intact individual vagaries of sentence structure. Finally the illustrations vary from half-tone reproductions of photographs to childish sketches drawn directly on the mimeograph stencil. The variety is so great that one cannot escape raising the question, "What is the purpose of a school paper?"

One can sympathize with the school Principal or reservation Superintendent who, recognizing that these papers not only reach the children, but in many cases are sent on into the homes, wants to use this medium to increase his constituents' understanding of his program. This appears to be a fair and reasonable opportunity to clarify understanding. Many of our school papers would profit by a frank recognition of this possible function, and it might become an accustomed thing to set aside a page or two for just this kind of editorial comment from the "Administration." However, it is hard to believe that a publication which is exclusively devoted to representing the Administration's viewpoint should appear in the guise of a school paper.

Publications unquestionably originated in American schools in an endeavor to furnish an adequate outlet for self expression on the part of the students. Ideally used, they may lead faculty and students to discuss together current happenings, problems and relationships. This should lead to clearer thinking on the students' part as they attempt to reduce these matters to writing for publication.

As such papers frequently have rather wide circulation, it is sometimes conceded to be unwise to allow an absolutely free expression of irresponsible opinion upon the part of individual students, when this opinion is not representative and when it might be misunderstood by casual readers not in direct touch with the work of the school. For that reason a certain amount of faculty supervision is deemed desirable. When such supervision however takes the form of extreme censorship creating a paper in a faculty image rather than in a student image, the value of the entire project may be open to severe questioning. When strict supervision of the written English leads to a publication which pretends to a maturity of diction or a correctness of expression which is beyond the capacity of the students themselves to produce, the paper becomes a hypocritical misrepresentation of the school which issues it. And, it would seem that when a school paper devotes an undue amount of space to the publication of articles by outside adults or the reprinting of material drawn from adult sources, some question legitimately may be raised as to its continued service as a student project to the institution which issues it.

Primarily it would seem that the school

paper should serve to stimulate and reflect the thought and opinions of the student body of the school which publishes it, and may in some small part provide opportunity for the editorial broadcasting of an administration policy. A large number of our schools might with advantage attempt the evaluation of the papers which they are now issuing. This cannot be a faculty evaluation alone. The entire issue is one which deserves the fullest canvass of the school population in an endeavor to set up a series of objectives in terms of which an adequate paper might be built. By the process of evaluation by faculty and students together better and more representative school papers may be produced.

8. SCHOOL COMMISSARY

THE Indian Service commissary needs a revaluation in most, if not at all, of the field units in order to keep pace with modern trends in marketing and purchasing. So far, little has been done in most areas to bring the commissary up to an acceptable standard. The present system of handling supplies, the arrangement, the accounting procedure (if any) and even many items on the shelves are remnants of the past in many of the Indian Service schools and agencies.

The function and importance of the commissary is gradually changing with improvement in transporation and roads, and the evolution of marketing and purchasing procedure in general. When supplies are not easily accessible, storage and accumulation of these supplies at the place of use is of paramount importance so that they may be on hand when needed. However, the modern trend in merchandising is towards more frequent distribution of supplies and almost complete elimination of storage at the retail end. This procedure ordinarily makes it possible to provide fresher supplies to the consumer and obviates the need for tying up large amounts of funds in inventory.

In the days when the average Indian agency was an isolated post, several days by wagon train from the nearest railway, the commissary was most important. Supplies had to be bought in bulk and hauled in, possibly under military escort, several times a year. This condition no longer exists and the average agency has access to daily delivery service from some nearby market. This service is costly, however, and in order to operate at the minimum of expense it is still necessary to purchase some Government supplies in bulk. This requires storage for such items.

An analysis of the situation reveals that the Indian Service is operating under both of the above systems. The change which has been taking place in purchasing procedure has culminated in a decreased emphasis upon, and care of the commissary unit, with the result that much unnecessary waste occurs.

This waste occurs in several forms. Firstly, when a commissary is neglected there is likely to be a leakage of supplies. It is often difficult to trace such leakage to its source unless a sound commissary accounting program is put into effect. Secondly, a neglected commissary means the accumulation of many materials and supplies which lie on the shelves indefinitely and deteriorate or become obsolete, while in a well-ordered commissary such items are kept current. Thirdly, in a neglected commissary there is usually no adequate record system, and it is impossible to operate efficiently and effectively under the Government routine of purchasing, without an adequate record of supplies distributed and supplies remaining on hand.

Typical of what exists in many school commissaries was the situation at one southwest school several years ago. There were two large commissary buildings on the campus, one approximately 40′ by 100′, and the other 50′ by 90′, in addition to numerous smaller store rooms in the various departments. Both of the main commissaries were piled full of supplies in a completely disorganinzed fashion. It was impossible through records, inventory, or guess, to tell what supplies or materials were available for the year's use. A careful survey revealed that a large proportion of the stored supplies had little current use in the school, and were only cluttering up the store room. The commissary was reorganized and many interesting things came to light. For example, when all of the boys' shirts were assembled in one place and assorted there were over 11,000 blue work shirts on the shelves in addition to the supply for the current year which had been ordered on the annual estimate. There were 150 boys in the school, which meant more than six years supply ahead! In the meantime, the shirt carried on the annual estimate had been changed and improved, which meant that for several years to come, the boys of the school would be compelled to use the old style shirts while other schools changed to newer styles.

In the hardware department, it was found that the supply of carriage and machine bolts, the bulk of which had been purchased some 15 to 20 years before, was adequate to last the school for many years to come except for certain popular sizes. In the case of rivets and harness repair items, the situation was even more exaggerated.

When the shake-down and rearrangement in this commissary was completed, it was found that one building was adequate to house the entire stock of supplies with room to spare! Many truck loads of surplus stock were transferred to nearby reservations where they were used in the various day schools or issued to Indians.

The labor now required to keep the one commissary building in good order, with the supplies systematically arranged, involves considerably less effort than was needed under the former inefficient set-up.

What has been reported for this one commissary can be repeated at many others. What is the condition at your school or agency? Does your chief clerk or other employee duplicate last year's annual estimate in lack of accurate information as to your needs, and are you wasting hundreds of dollars on unnecessary supplies which might be spent to improve your school if you had accurate commissary records to prove what you need and what you don't need?

—*Tisinger*

9. AVOID POLITICS

OCCASIONALLY one encounters a new employee who has been told that the Indian Service is a highly political institution, and who believes that the endorsement of a Senator and several Congressmen is required in order to get a job in the Service, or to secure a promotion after entering. The Service undoubtedly enjoyed a lurid past during part of which this was probably true. Nothing could be farther from the truth today. In fact a political endorsement may actually be a handicap. In a Service which has become highly professionalized and in which every effort is being made to promote on the basis of ability and merit, a recommendation for consideration from someone who apparently has none but political interest in the candidate arouses a suspicion that the individual may be attempting to use pull in lack of training or ability, and subjects his record to a much more intensive scrutiny than would otherwise be made.

Experience has led to the conclusion, also, that the average Congressman resents the assumption by his constituents that his major function is that of employment agent. A good Congressman has his time more than taken up with the responsibilities of government. The Civil Service Commission has been set up as the recruiting agency of the government, and is better qualified to do the job. Furthermore, all permanent positions in the Indian Service are under Civil Service, so a political recommendation is useless. A candidate's name will be certified when his position on the register is reached—and outside pressure is without avail to change that position.

It is true that the administration may choose between the three top candidates for any job, and it may be assumed that at this point political pressure is needed or helpful. The reverse is true. When a candidate is willing to bring outside pressure to bear to get a job, it is a fair conclusion that he will continue to bring pressure to bear to obtain privileges to which he is not entitled, to obtain transfers not to the advantage of the Service, to avoid unpleasant assignments and to obtain promotion before it has been earned. Looked at from any angle, the candidate who thinks he has a "pull" is a headache to his administrative superiors—as well as to his political sponsors. Therefore a barrage of endorsements from the great and near great is fair warning that the candidate is "poison"—and is justification for passing over that name in favor of someone who gives indication of being willing to allow his personal abilities and qualifications to speak for themselves.

If you want a transfer, or if you believe that you can serve better in a different capacity than the one you now occupy, a letter through your superintendent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, attention Education or Personnel will be made part of your permanent file, and will be given earnest consideration in planning for your future. It is, of course, a departmental regulation that where a transfer is made at the convenience of the employee, the government will not pay travel expense. If the Office receives its first notice of your desires from your home-state Senator, it naturally begins to wonder why you are on such bad terms with your superior that you have chosen to avoid "regular channels" in preferring your request. You immediately set yourself off as unique, and people who are disregardful of routine requirements are usually difficult to get on with. When these facts are reported to the superintendent to whose area you wish to transfer, he is naturally inclined to be skeptical and it is necessary to consult the very man you have by-passed to obtain a report on your efficiency and adaptability to the Indian Service.

Attention is also called in Section 3 of Rule XI of the rules which govern Civil Service employees:

"3. *Improper recommendations.*—No recommendation for the promotion of a classified employee shall be considered by any officer concerned in making promotions unless it be made by the person under whose supervision such employee has served; and such recommendation by any other person, if made with the knowledge and consent of the employee, shall be sufficient cause for debarring him from the promotion proposed, and a repetition of the offense shall be sufficient cause for removing him from the service."

This is a career service. We're on the lookout for competent people deserving of promotion. We seek those who desire to identify themselves with the Indian Service and its objectives. Don't reflect on your own abilities by trying to persuade us that it takes pull to help you get and keep a job.

10. CONSIDER THE TREES

A MAN who owns his home and loves it, usually signalizes that fact by planting trees around it. He often says he wants the shade—that he wants to "tie the house into the ground," soften its outlines or a dozen other things—but regardless of how he explains it, he plants trees. The love or the spirit of dedication that accompanied the founding of many of our Indian schools found similar expression. Around most of them has grown up a veritable forest of trees—beautiful in their youth and now beginning to look a little passé, for quick growing, early aging trees were often chosen. In nature, trees care for their own replacement. Man, however, often desires them to grow in a pattern, so he ruthlessly cuts off the seedlings and the suckers until at last his ancient trees, scarred and injured, stand like Roosevelt's "nine old men,"—the representatives of a past generation.

Here and there individuals take note of the fact that even trees grow old, and begin a systematic replacement program, planting younger trees so that they may take their place in the pattern, and then retiring the veterans as their limbs begin to fail. Sometimes as at Fort Apache, where an excellent job of replacement is now being done, it was allowed to wait unduly long and "boys in knee pants are replacing the grey-bearded ancients." However in a few years a beautiful and symmetrical campus should result.

Sometimes, as at Phoenix until a few years ago, trees and shrubbery are allowed unregulated growth and gradually choke each other off. Recently in one year's time more than eight hundred trees or ornamental bushes were cut out of the Phoenix grounds. Yet today the campus is more verdant and beautiful than ever. The older and more ragged specimens were removed, and the vigorous young growth, taking advantage of the light and air, has thrown out more luxurious foliage.

It doesn't require a great deal of time or expense to care for the plantings around our schools. All that trees and shrubs ask for is a little care and consideration, which will result in continuous anticipatory planting of young stock and a gradual elimination of the unfit.

Trees, like animals, need first aid after injury. If broken limbs are sawn off clean, and the stub painted over, disease will be deferred. If obstructing branches are pruned back, annoyances will be eliminated. If the summer is unduly dry a pail or two of water at the roots occasionally, will save many a gallant friend. Do not confine the maintenance program to wood and stone—leave time and thought for the trees and shrubs.

11. REALISTIC CHARACTER EDUCATION

THE acceptance of a loan is an agreement on the part of the borrower to repay what has been borrowed. A clear understanding of this fact is fundamental to participation in modern economic society. Borrowing and returning is a familiar relationship in many cultures, but credit, by which capital is furnished upon promise of return, is a keystone of American life. Railroads and factories are built, homes and automobiles sold, crops financed, and government itself operated upon the accepted integrity of a promise to repay.

The American Indian has been introduced to the complicated role of credit through agricultural and industrial reimbursables, educational loans, and the credit phases of the Indian Reorganization Act. Sentimentality, expediency, politics and poor judgment have at times conspired to deprive the Indian of his legitimate education with regard to the place of loans in his developing economic life. Here and there, by other Indians, by members of the Indian Service, by Federal employees in other departments, and by designing individuals, he has been told that the repayment of federal money is something he need not worry about. In this, his advisers are reflecting a dangerous but frequently encountered attitude; that the Federal Government is an impersonal agency with plenty of money, and that its citizens may exploit it with impunity.

Those who are sincerely desirous that the Indian take his place on an equal footing in American life, must be alarmed when he encounters experiences which thus undermine his basic integrity. Indians have suffered many abuses at the hands of their White associates, in the years since the American continents were discovered. They have been bilked and horn-swoggled out of their lands, they are often underpaid for their products, and are frequently overcharged for things they buy from White men. All of this may be charged up to experience, in learning what manner of men some of their White associates are, and in many instances the Indians have been as canny in their own way. Let us not assume that they have aways come as lambs to the shearing. Many times the furs and metals which they have traded to the White man have been relatively useless to the Indians, and they have given them in exchange for things which they valued highly and which they could obtain in no other way.

A case in point: One of our representatives in Alaska when traveling by dog team through an isolated area, met an Eskimo. Both stopped their teams for an exchange of courtesies. After discussing the weather and the condition of the trail, the Eskimo noticed a sheath knife on the White's belt, and indicated a desire to purchase it. He went to his sled, and returned with five fine fox skins, which he spread on the ground as the price he was willing to pay. The White man, who had paid only a couple of dollars for the knife, refused, saying that one skin was more than enough; that he could get another knife with the proceeds of selling the skin, and still have a large profit. The Eskimo agreed that for the White man the knife was of little monetary value, because he could secure many more where that one came from. But he pointed out that without a knife, and in an area where a knife was difficult to comeby, an Eskimo must judge its value by a different standard. By his standard, five skins was a small price to pay for the knife. Skins were many, and of value only for what they bring in trade. Without the knife, he would find it difficult to obtain more skins—with the knife he might greatly increase his capital.

This difference in values between the products of different cultures is seldom fully realized by either group. It of course leads to abuses upon the part of dishonest traders, and in turn makes trading with foreign peoples a sufficient source of profit to justify an often risky venture. It also leads to sentimental criticisms of the trader which are not always borne out by the facts.

However, the very basis of trading lies in the integrity, of those dealt with.

Throughout the Indian country, many thousands of dollars in credit are constantly being extended to Indians, and the continued success of these ventures depends upon the trustworthiness of the natives in repaying these loans. At the same time, justice to the Indians demands that they be not encouraged to assume obligations which may prove impossible to meet.

In many parts of the country Indians must face the barriers of racial prejudice; many Indians are handicapped by their lack of the English language in dealing with the White man; the persistence of tribal customs and ways of thinking which differ greatly from White ways, demands difficult adjustments, which frequently place the Indian at a disadvantage; all of these handicaps are minor and capable of adaptation or correction. But if we teach the Indians that financial obligations are of little importance, and that loans may be repaid at one's convenience, or ignored altogether, we are definitely unfitting him for economic self-support.

Droughts and depressions create privation and poverty. The federal government as well as local agencies may be called upon to aid the individual in many ways to meet his obligations and feed his family. Moratoriums which will postpone the dates of repayment may for short periods of time be necessary and desirable. But the fundamental fact remains, that if any group of our citizenry is to begin or continue to participate in the economic life of the nation it must recognize and observe the sanctity of reimbursable obligations.

The personnel of the Indian Service would be disloyal to their fundamental duty to the Indian people, if this attitude toward loan obligations is not upheld.

There are times when we must observe care in advising Indians about assuming obligations. Loans should not be made unless there is good prospect that with reasonable effort on the part of the Indian, the loan can be repaid. Too many times, undue emphasis has been placed upon "security"—assuming that if repayment is not made the Indians' land or other assets may be sequested. Such a point of view is more or less absurd in many cases—when it is considered that the Indian Service is engaged in getting land for the Indians, not taking it away. It is *character* and *willingness to work*, and *recognition of a loan as an obligation which may demand self sacrifice for repayment* that are the important things in selecting persons to whom loans may be made.

The Divisions of Education and Extension are proud to state that loans are being repaid in a commendably regular manner by those Indians who are productively employed. Many Indians are fulfilling their obligations at great personal cost. In this we believe that they are learning an important lesson that will play its part in their ultimate success in life. We look forward to a time when we can say, *not many*, but, *all*, who have received loans are meeting their obligations regularly.—*Cooley and Beatty*

12. WORK REPLACING CHARITY

WHEN Indians were first confined to reserved areas and deprived of their usual means of self-support, the government placed many of them on a ration basis, and agreed to educate their children so that they might become self-supporting in the new kind of world into which they were thrown. As the fortunes of Indians have varied, some form of the ration system has persisted. When children were taken from home to a boarding school, many times at great distances from home, it was natural that the government supply not only food, but clothing, for few Indian families were equipped financially to outfit a child for life in a Federal boarding school.

With the Indians grown accustomed to being relieved of the responsibilities of parenthood, there was some hesitancy about expecting the parents to assume the obligation of clothing their children when the new day schools returned the children to their homes. It was thought that parents must be gradually re-educated to their responsibilities, and so for a time the schools continued to issue clothing to all school children. Sometimes this "issue" was thoughtlessly defended as a "right," and expected by all parents, regardless of their economic status.

The drought areas were the first in which the Indians themselves became aware of the injustice of the "issue" system, and suggested in certain communities that the government clothes be given only to families which were in want. With this start, the idea spread. It is recognized that such a fundamental responsibility of the individual family as their children's clothing, ought to be assumed by the parents themselves. In each Indian community during the period of drought and depression, however, there were many families whose income was insufficient to make possible the purchase of needed shoes and clothing, especially in the winter months. To solve this difficulty, while still preserving to the parents the fundamental self-respect of caring for their own, a "work-for-clothing" scheme was developed in certain centers.

In the day schools of the Rosebud Reservation, for example, the parents' associations of the several schools appointed committees of their own number to decide with regard to certain phases of the problem. Government funds were inadequate to make anything like a general issue possible. This committee therefore undertook to decide which families were sufficiently in want to deserve assistance. The needed improvements around the school were then listed, such as: improving the road, digging a root-cellar, repairing a screen door, replacing broken panes of glass, repainting portions of the interior or exterior of the school building or quarters, curbing the well, erecting or repairing the fence, and similar needed work. This was evaluated in terms of the going rate of pay for these types of labor, and the adult members of needy families invited to do such work, for which they would receive credit toward the purchase of children's clothing. The clothing was priced at the amount which the government paid for it.

In a period of two years the plan became generally accepted throughout the Dakota reservations. In a similar manner, the southern Arizona Indians assumed responsibility for their children's clothing. The plan was then extended to many other reservations. In some areas where the purpose of the new program was not fully understood by the Indians, some feeling of injustice was expressed. However, as the matter has been more fully explained, the parents have assumed the same responsibility for clothing their children who attend school, that they have always shown for their children not in attendance.

It is to be hoped that the entire question of clothing for school children is now on this common sense basis, and the element of charity removed, once and for all.

The plans may vary to suit the needs of a given area, but the underlying principle that Indians prefer to earn rather than accept charity, appears to be borne out in most instances where the problem has been broached. The matter ought to receive consideration in all remaining areas where the "issue" system is still in force.

It is important to remember, however, that changes in procedure need to be understood, and should therefore be discussed in advance with the people to be affected. There is every evidence that such discussions reveal the essential reasonableness of the proposal, and win for it community support.

13. INDIAN CITIZENSHIP

SOME misunderstanding seems to exist in certain localities regarding the citizenship status and rights of the Indians. The following may throw some light on the situation.

Prior to 1924 approximately two-thirds of the Indians in the United States were already citizens. This came about, by allotment in severalty and the issuance of trust patents pursuant to the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. 388) or by abandoning tribal relations and adopting the habits of civilized life in accordance with Section 6 of that Act. A provision in the Act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. 1447) conferred citizenship on every Indian in the Indian territory and a provision in Section 3 of the Act of March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. 1250) declared all members of the Osage Tribe to be citizens. These two latter statutes alone enfranchised upwards of 100,000 Indians. By the Act of June 2, 1924 (43 Stat. 253) Congress declared all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States, to be citizens of the United States, without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting their right to tribal or other property. This statute also removed any lingering doubts about citizenship of the "Natives" of Alaska. Additional legislation became necessary, however, in behalf of the Metlakahtlans, most of whom had migrated from British Columbia to the Annette Islands, (Alaska) and hence were not "born within the territorial limits of the United States." The Act of May 27, 1934 (48 Stat. 667) definitely cast citizenship on this latter group.

Practically all Indians in the United States are citizens therefore, and our Supreme Court has ruled that a citizen of the United States, ipso facto, is a citizen of the state in which he resides: (Colgate v. Harvey, 296 U. S. 406427.) In order to enjoy the right of franchise, however, Indian citizens must comply with the laws of the state to the same extent as other non-Indian citizens. Where such laws require residence for a given period, registration, or the payment of a poll tax etc., such requirements must be met by every citizen Indian or White before the right to vote can be recognized or demanded. The Fifteenth Amendment to our Federal Constitution declares that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged either by the United States or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Legally, therefore, it is beyond the constitutional power of any state to deny the right of Indians to vote simply because they are Indians. As previously pointed out, however, Indian citizens must comply with local registration laws before they can demand a right to vote. Happily most of our states recognize an equal right of the Indians to vote to the same extent as other citizens of the state. A few states, particularly in the extreme south and southwest, have attempted to discriminate against the Indians as with the Negroes, by setting up rigid requirements as to registration, residence, etc., so as to make it as difficult as possible for voters in these two classes to meet such requirements,—a sort of "no registration, no vote" device operating as an effective bar that is somewhat difficult to surmount.

It should be understood, however, that acquisition of citizenship by Indians, including the right to vote, in no way affects their right to tribal or other property and does not within itself subject the Indians while within their reservations to the laws of the state, or to the jurisdiction of the courts of the state. This simply means that an Indian may be a citizen and a ward of the Federal government at the same time,—and our Supreme Court has pointed out that there is no incompatibility between citizenship and wardship as applied to the Indians. This doctrine, coupled with repeated legislative declaration that acquisition of citizenship by the Indians shall in no way affect their right to tribal or other property should afford every assurance to the Indians that even though citizens they may still retain and enjoy the protection thrown around them by a paternal Federal government.

—*Reeves*

14. ONE SERVICE

THERE are two basic theories with regard to the organization of federal services for Indians. Recognizing that Indians are merely a portion of the population, having the same rights and entitled to the same services as other citizens, it is argued that those branches of the government immediately concerned with these several activities should service the Indian population as one phase of their many responsibilities. Those who argue in these terms would turn the administration of Indian forests to the Forest Service, the administration of Indian grazing lands to the Grazing Division, the construction and operation of Indian irrigation projects to the Reclamation Service, the construction and operation of Indian hospitals and the maintenance of the field nursing service to the Public Health Service, the operation of schools of all kinds for Indians to the public schools of the respective states, the guidance in agriculture, industry, and home extension to the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, and similarly throughout the many ramifications of Indian needs do away with Indian Service as a separate entity, reduce the staffing of the present agencies, and probably retain merely the reservation superintendent or some similar officer as a coordinating agent of the many federal and state agencies which would be cooperating in the work of adapting Indians to the American scene.

A contrasting theory argues that the Indians constitute a group of people suffering from certain physical, economic, and cultural handicaps in competition with the White population which has destroyed their native ways of life, deprived them of the economic resources upon which they originally depended for subsistence, and pushed them back into the least fertile areas where a major adaptation of their habits and customs is required if they are to persist as a people and achieve ultimate amalgamation with the rest of the population. In view of the fact that the Indians are not similar to the general population in the problems which they face and that they experience unique needs, it is argued that an integrated service devoted to the solution of Indian problems is the best method of dealing with Indians. Such a service is capable of providing specific training to its representatives who may be concerned with irrigation, agriculture, stock raising, forestry, health or education which will equip them to deal more effectively with this unique body of people, the Indians, whose cultural differences must receive serious and continuous consideration if the work of the agencies is to achieve maximum success.

Incidentally, it is often argued that the first proposal would be less expensive in the long run to the government, than the maintenance of the integrated service contemplated by the second proposal. To answer this economic argument: The statistics growing out of long time experience with the Indian Service, do not bear out the contention of economy, because the administration of Indian forests, the operation of Indian hospitals, the supervision of Indian grazing lands, etc. are not duplicating services but are parallel services, and today the unit cost of the several divisions of the Indian Service are less than the unit costs of governmental agencies furnishing similar services to Whites. Education is the only exception and in view of the fact that Indian education attempts a broad program of adult and community education as well as child education, unit costs based upon per capita attendance of children only, are fallacious.

After continuing argument extending over many years as to the merits of diversified vs. unified service, the second of these two views underlies both the past and present operation of the Indian Service.

Indian Service, therefore, is a unified service, the objectives of which are to prepare the Indian as rapidly as possible for the effective operation of his own resources and to make him a healthy, successful participating citizen in the American nation. All divisions of the Indian Service exist to make their contribution toward the fulfilling of these simple objectives and as long as the Indian Service is operated as a unit, it is assumed that the needs of the service in order to succeed with this program are superior to those of any division or unit within a division.

In a highly competitive organization, which any agency like the Indian Service tends to become, it is natural to have unit leaders who think first of the prestige and advantage of their phases of the service. Such competitive exclusiveness tends to defeat the very purposes of a unified service.

The schools of the Indian Service exist not only to teach Indians to read and write, but to prepare them to function more successfully as economic units with the resources which are available to them. It is not enough for Indian Service teachers to spread before their pupils the manifold viands of education, leaving to the pupils the responsibility for selecting a well-balanced educational meal. As with the modern nutritionist who gives active guidance in the selection of food, to the end that an individual is assisted to obtain that balance of protein, fats, carbohydrates and that proportion of vitamins essential to the most healthful growth and development of the human body, so there is imposed upon teachers in the Indian Service responsibility for planning a program of educational experiences which will (1) fit the Indian child to earn a better and more bountiful living in the environment in which he is living, (2) assist in preparing him for his inevitable and increasing contacts with White culture, and (3) equip him with understanding of those measures of health and sanitation which will protect him from disease, lengthen his life, and increase his immunity to disease. In many instances the schools are equipped to assist in carrying out concrete and physical changes in collaboration with other divisions of the service.

Several years ago boys in the day schools of the Pine Ridge reservation under the leadership of their shop teacher participated with the rehabilitation division in an analysis of home improvement throughout a large area of the reservation, and, enlisting the assistance of the older men, carried on a program of repair and improvement of Indian homes that far exceeded in value the Federal funds which were used in its realization.

One of our large boarding schools in the south, a few years ago, established a nursery for the production of seedlings and small plants, which were later made available to the older students and their parents for the production of home gardens and the planting or improving of home orchards.

On the eastern Cherokee reservation registered Brown Swiss breeding bulls have been located at the day schools to facilitate the improvement of Indian livestock throughout the reservation. In each of these instances chosen from many similar ones the immediate returns to the Education Division were often not as great as the contribution to other divisions of the service, and putting a narrow interpretation on educational objectives might easily have been considered outside the province of a public school.

More recently, two of our non-reservation boarding schools have established a record of unselfish and continuous contributions to the Indian Service at large, in which there has been free and generous utilization of funds, personnel and local interest which might legitimately have been retained for some narrower objectives of each institution. These two schools are Haskell and Phoenix. The Haskell shops have cooperated with the Roads Division in the production of specialized machines to simplify maintenance operations, have collaborated in experimentation with earth building materials, and have contributed to the development of a hydraulically driven earth block pressing machine.

The Phoenix Indian School has contributed more than a year of intensive research and experimentation in the field of dehydration, finding the funds for this purpose largely in its Indian Moneys, Proceeds of Labor fund. It may be said for these institutions that no request from a school man or reservation superintendent in the field, or from the central office calling for specialized effort or time upon the part of staff or students toward the solution of a service-wide problem has failed to receive the earnest, active, and constructive attention of everyone from the superintendent through the teaching and custodial staff, and including the children.

These attitudes of growing realization that we are a united service and that acceptance of the broader implications of this fact will ultimately enrich rather than impoverish the work of any single agency or institution are in marked contrast to the attitudes continuing in other areas where possible contributions to service-wide ends are greeted with suspicion, jealously watched, or quickly terminated on a "what's in it for me" basis. Broad-gauge and service-wide cooperation is not something which can be forced by regulation, it is basically of the spirit. For the limited number of occasions when this broader viewpoint has been exploited to the disadvantage of the cooperating division, there are fortunately a greater number of instances in which the ultimate profit to the contributor in good will and cooperation in return, has far outweighed the initial contribution.

The story is told of a reservation on which the older Indians, entitled to ration issues, never failed to make ration day an occasion for a generous distribution of what they had received among their many friends and relatives on the reservation. Looked at from a casual and realistic White man's point of view, this might have appeared to constitute a wanton waste of government sponsored relief, leaving the recipients empty handed. After all, the bacon and flour, bread and corn, were given to these old people as their basic food supply for a month, and as might be expected of irresponsible Indians, they had squandered it in a few days of riotous entertainment of their relatives. As a matter of fact however, the old Indians were longer-headed and far wiser than some social workers and reservation superintendents believed. They were practicing an old Biblical adage: "cast your bread upon the waters and it will be returned." By their gracious squandering of their pittance of relief, they placed upon their friends and relatives a social obligation which permitted them to live with these recipients of their beneficence far more generously and far more happily than they could possibly have lived off their government rations.

Publications of the Education Division
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE

The specific publications referred to in the article "Books For and About Indians" on page 191 are here listed for ready reference, as of January, 1945.

INDIAN LIFE READERS

Navaho Series, in English and Navaho
by Ann Clark

1. Little Herder in Autumn (Illustrated by Hoke Denetsosie)
2. Little Herder in Winter (Illustrated by Hoke Denetsosie)
3. Little Herder in Spring (Illustrated by Hoke Denetsosie)
4. Little Herder in Summer (Illustrated by Hoke Denetsosie)
5. Who Wants to be a Prairie Dog? (Illustrated by Van Tsihnahjinnie)
6. Little Man's Family by J. B. Enochs (Illustrated by Gerald Nailor)
   A pre-primer, primer, and reader

Pueblo Series

1. Little Boy with Three Names (Taos) by Ann Clark in English only
   (Illustrated by Tonita Lujan)
2. Young Hunter of Picuris by Ann Clark in English and Spanish
   (Illustrated by Velino Herrera)
3. Field Mouse Goes to War (Hopi) by Edward A. Kennard in English and Hopi
   (Illustrated by Fred Kabotie)
4. Sun Journey (Zuni) by Ann Clark in English and Spanish
   (Illustrated by Percy Tsisete Sandy)

Sioux Series, in English and Teton Lakota
by Ann Clark.

1. The Pine Ridge Porcupine (Illustrated by Andrew Standing Soldier)
2. The Slim Butte Raccoon (Illustrated by Andrew Standing Soldier)
3. The Grass Mountain Mouse (Illustrated by Andrew Standing Soldier)
4. The Hen of Wahpeton (Illustrated by Andrew Standing Soldier)
5. There Still are Buffalo (Illustrated by Andrew Standing Soldier)
6. Bringer of the Mystery Dog (Illustrated by Oscar Howe)
7. Brave Against the Enemy (Photographic illustrations by Helen Post)

Indian Children's Own Writings (Illustrated)

1. Feast Day at Nambe
2. School Days at San Juan
3. Ferdinand and Victory

PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN LIFE AND CUSTOMS

by Ruth Underhill (Copiously illustrated)

1. The Paiutes of California and Southern Nevada
2. The Indians of Southern California
3. The Papago and their Relatives the Pima
4. Workaday Life of the Pueblos
5. Indians of the Pacific Northwest
6. The Story of the Blackfeet, by John C. Ewers

INDIAN HANDCRAFT PAMPHLETS

(Copiously illustrated)

1. Quill and Beadwork of the Western Sioux, by Carrie Lyford
2. Navaho Native Dyes, by Nonabah Bryan and Stella Young
4. Seneca Splint Basketry, by Marjorie Lismer
5. Ojibwa Crafts, by Carrie Lyford
6. Pueblo Crafts, by Ruth Underhill
7. Spruce Root Basketry of the Alaska Tlingit, by Frances Paul

HOME IMPROVEMENT PAMPHLETS

1. Earth Brick Construction (Adobe and Bitudobe), by Elbert Hubbell

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

Along the Beale Trail, a photographic account of wasted range land,
by H. C. Lockett and Milton Snow

Cooperatives for Indians, 18 lesson leaflets, by Edward Huberman

Indians, Yesterday and Today (The Indian problem and the Indian Service)
Edited by Gerard T. Beeckman

The Navaho Language, A dictionary and grammar of the Navaho Language,
by Robert W. Young and William Morgan

The ABC of Navaho (An introduction to the study of the Navaho language in English and Navaho, addressed primarily to Navaho) by Robert W. Young and William Morgan

A Manual for the Indian School Service

Igloo Tales (Eskimo folk tales, illustrated by George Aden Ahgupuk)
by Edward L. Keithahn

Education for Action (Reprints from Indian Education)
by Willard W. Beatty and Associates

The New Trail (Phoenix School Yearbook 1941)
High school children's creative writing and art

Additional titles are being added constantly.

Price list may be obtained and copies purchased from
Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas

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